

UTRIKESPERSPEKTIV #1 2015

LIVING IN CRIMEA - EMPRESS WU - PETER SUNDE - JOURNALISTIKENS BLINDA FLÄCKAR

UTRIKES PERSPEKTIV

The Student Magazine
on Foreign Affairs

Nr. 1 2015

Silenced in
SAHARA

Piketty
UNDER FIRE

INTERVJU:
Kajsa Ekis Ekman

Theme:
**THE OTHER
STORY**





“OUR OBJECTIVE WAS TO GO BEYOND OUR COMFORT ZONES”

In 2009, people from all over the world turned their eyes to Stockholm. The Pirate Bay trials, in which four individuals with connections to the downloading site were charged for promoting copyright infringement, were to be one of most widely discussed legal battles in Swedish history. During the trials, the public could follow every step in the procedures through digital channels such as Facebook and Twitter, where the accused and their supporters wrote about their view on the proceedings, and in that respect, some people argue that the Pirate Bay debacle made courtroom history. The trials ended in defeat for Pirate Bay, and the website's spokesperson Peter Sunde, alongside with the other defendants, were sentenced to prison. For this issue of *Utrikesperspektiv*, we had the opportunity to have a chat with Sunde, concerning his post-Pirate Bay political career, his opinions regarding Internet activism and governmental transparency.

WHEN WE FIRST started working with this issue, our main objective was to go beyond our personal comfort zones, to find stories in parts of the world

previously quite unknown to ourselves. Consequently, the magazine in front of you contains stories of a wide range. For instance, we have Saahil Waslekar's take on the economic situation in Austria; we have Anahita Nicoobayan's account on sexual tension in urban Iran, and we have Nicholas Kaminiski's portrayal of the political conflicts, which permeates the Western Sahara. To just name a few.

We hope you'll get a pleasant read!

Yours sincerely

Linnea Sandell & Marcus Bornlid
Editors-in-Chief

UTRIKES
PERSPEKTIV



STAFF

Editors-in-Chief:

Linnea Sandell
Marcus Bornlid

Layout:

Linnea Sandell
Malin Elise Rosengren
Kia Silvennoinen
Sofia Ekhem
Marcus Bornlid

Editorial Staff:

Petra van der Kooij
Lisa Svensson
Emelie Lindström
Saahil Waslekar
Gabriel R. du Plessis
Kia Silvennoinen
Elaine Zheng
Arttu Närhi
Malin Elise Rosengren
Olena Dudko
Hyoen-Soo Jeon
Anahita Nicoobayan
Adrian Taleny
Sofia Ekhem
Kari Helle
Nicholas Kaminiski

Legally responsible publisher:

Linnea Sandell

Print:

Trydells Tryckeri AB

Edition:

700 ex

Contact:

magazine@upflund.se

FRONT PAGE PHOTO:

School girls in Bangui,
Central African Republic.
Photographer: Pierre Holtz

Utrikespolitiska
Föreningen
Sandgatan 2
223 50 Lund
Tel: 046-142733

Detta material är helt eller delvis finansierat av SIDA, styrelsen för Internationellt Utvecklings-samarbete. SIDA delar inte nödvändigtvis de åsikter som här framförs. Ansvar för innehållet är uteslutande författarens.



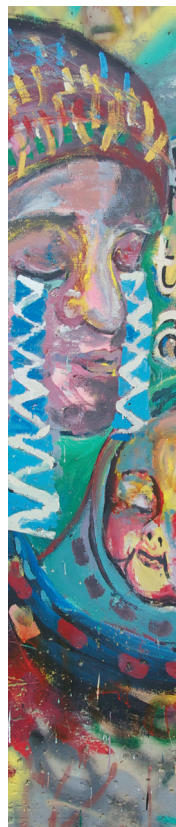
6.



26.



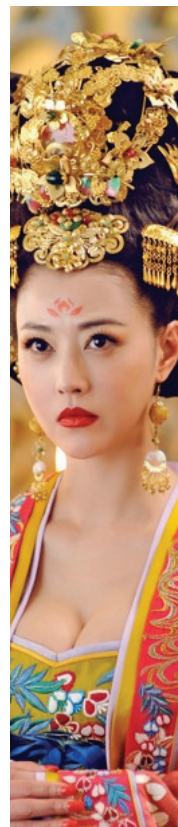
28.



34.



38.



53.

CONTENT

4. Presidents' Message

5. Member Information

6. Intervju: Kajsa Ekis Ekman

11. Interview: Peter Sunde

16. Intervju: Anna-Karin Johansson

18. World Brief

20. Theme: The Other Story

21. Journalistikens Blinda Fläckar

26. Editorial: Tehran

28. Living in Crimea

32. Sworn Virgins of Albania

34. From the Grey Side of the Wall

38. Piketty Under Fire

41. Austria. Rethinking. Innovate

46. Stranger Than Fiction

48. Departure

50. Silenced in Sahara

53. Empress Wu

56. Den europeiska fästningen

60. Economic Growth

62. Hildur Sandberg

64. Smartphone Arirang

66. Europas skam

Utrikesperspektiv is the bilingual member magazine of the Association of Foreign Affairs, published four times per year. The magazine has no affiliations with a political party. Opinions presented are the writers' own.



PRESIDENTS' MESSAGE

We are now well into the new year and the people in Lund have had plenty of time to settle in to the all too familiar routines of a student life. UPF remains after the winter break, here to welcome your familiar faces back to the Association. If you are new to Lund and to UPF, we would like to formally welcome you to this amazing family of misfits.

SINCE WE WERE founded in 1935, this year the Association celebrates its 80th Anniversary. To commemorate this fantastic event, we were happy to organise the Anniversary Celebration between February 17 - 20. For three days our members and visitors attended lectures and seminars under the theme of "Post-2015 Development Goals" before finally taking part in the Grand Ball at the AF-Building. The Anniversary Project Group did a fantastic job of pulling the entire event together and we look forward to the 85th Anniversary in 2020.

BUT EVEN THOUGH the Anniversary Celebration is over, there is still a lot going on within our Association. The Magazine in your hand is just one of the many ways that UPF aims to promote discussion and debate about foreign affairs in Lund. Visit one of our lectures, read the webzine-articles, listen to our Radio broadcast or join us for a party during the Sittning on the 9th of May. Whoever you are and whatever you like, the Association of Foreign Affairs has something for you.



On behalf of the board,

Emelie Muñoz & Rikard Brodda
President & Vice President

BOARD 2014-2015

President:

Emelie Muñoz
president@upflund.se

Vice President:

Rikard Brodda
vice.president@upflund.se

Treasurer:

Alexander Jarlsund
treasure@upflund.se

Secretary:

Oscar Sönnergren
secretary@upflund.se

Lecture Committee:

Thea Holmlund
Oscar Waldner
Julian Mayr
lecture@upflund.se

PR committee:

Emma Brunberg
Judith Frempomaa
pr@upflund.se

Activity Committee:

Emelie Einarsson
Hedwig Lindgren
activity@upflund.se

Utrikesperspektiv:

Linnea Sandell
Marcus Bornlid
magazine@upflund.se

Utrikesperspektiv.se:

Lotta Herz
Riccard Andersson
webzine@upflund.se

Radio UPF:

Anna Ekholm
Jessica Franzen
radio@upflund.se

Career Committee:

Fanny Jonsson
Erika Pihl
career@upflund.se

Travel Committee:

Rickard Allreke Wählhammar
Peter Schwartz
travel@upflund.se



@upflund /upflund

RADIO UPF

HEAR THE WORLD

WWW.RADIOAF.SE



WEDNESDAYS 17:00 AT RADIOAF.SE

Each week Radio UPF produces a brand new program, filled with interesting interviews and engaging discussions about current topics, on both domestic and international issues. Download our previous podcasts at www.radioaf.se/program/upf or listen to specific interviews at our Audioboom page: www.audioboom.com/RadioUPFLund



“SOM FEMINIST SER JAG PÅ PROSTITUTION SOM DEN YTTERSTA OJÄMLIKHETEN MELLAN MÄN OCH KVINNOR”

Kajsa Ekis Ekman, en av Sveriges mest namnkunniga politiska debattörer, fick sitt stora genombrott 2010 för boken *Varat och Varan. Utrikesperspektiv* har träffat henne för ett samtal om hennes syn på kontroversiella ämnen som prostitution, sexköpslagen och surrogatmödraskap.

Text: Marcus Bornlid **Foto:** Giorgos Raptogiannis

Du har skrivit om prostitution i mer än nio år. Vad var det som väckte ditt intresse från början?

“För mig handlade det om både teori och praktik. Prostitution är en av de frågor, i likhet med kriminalvård, hedersvåld och socialpolitik, som man inte ska skriva om utifall man inte har sett det i verkligheten. Jag har sett prostitution, jag bodde tillsammans med en tjej som sålde sig, och jag har också haft killar som köpt sex, tyvärr. Som feminist ser jag på prostitution som den yttersta ojämlikheten mellan män och kvinnor, på ett teoretiskt plan; som socialist är det den yttersta reifikationen av människan under kapitalismen. Och jag kan ju säga att jag blev väldigt upprörd när den stora

prostitutionsdebatten drog igång för femtioelfte gången i Sverige 2006; när folk började tjata om att det var ”ett fritt val”. Jag tyckte att det var så otroligt verklighetsfrånvänt.”

På tal om det, det hörs emellanåt argument om att prostitution skulle vara ”frigörande” för kvinnor, eller att det är ett ”arbete som alla andra”. Vad har du att säga om den typen av åsikter?

“De här två åsikterna går inte ihop - man kan säga att det är här som sexualradikalismen totalkraschar. Å ena sidan vill de sexpositiva att sex ska vara skönt, sexigt, upphetsande; ja, de menar till och med att det är genom sexualiteten som människan främst ska frigöra

sig. Men å andra sidan menar de alltså att sex ska vara ett arbete, det vill säga tråkigt, slitigt, enformigt som lönearbete ju är. Detta går inte ihop med mindre än att man accepterar ojämlikhet. Alltså: sex ska vara skönt för köparen (mannen) och trist för säljaren (kvinnan). Vilket är den klassiska patriarkala attityden. Nu är det ju inte bara kvinnor som säljer sex även om det i stort sett bara är män som köper, men övervägande.

Det roliga med liberaler, som vill verka toleranta genom att acceptera prostitution, är ju att de har två olika typer av moral. Å ena sidan har de moral som gäller andra människor som de inte känner, och å andra sidan har de en moral för personer som de faktiskt känner.”



Det existerar alltså ett glapp mellan teorin och praktiken?

“Ja, och ett annat argument som ibland dyker upp är att prostitution borde tillåtas som någon slags handikappvård. Men även i sådana sammanhang är det också bara män som avses. Tanken som ligger till grund för detta är att alla män har en rätt till sex. Men eftersom vissa inte kan få det, på grund av exempelvis handikapp, borde det finnas någon som kan komma in och ”hjälpa dem”. Underförstått är då att sex är en rättighet som samhället ska garantera män.”

Du har kallat sexköpslagen Sveriges sista stora progressiva reform. Vill du utveckla det?

“Jag borde kanske säga att det är den *senaste*, det låter så domedagsaktigt annars. Men vad jag menar med det är att Sverige, tack vare den svenska modellen och annat, länge har varit ett föregångsland. Folk har kommit från när och fjärran för att studera vad vi gör – vårt system med pappamånader, daghem och en massa annat. Men sedan en tid tillbaka har det här reformarbetet i stort sett upphört, och sexköpslagen infördes under en tidpunkt då vi höll på att sälja ut allting, vilket indikerade att det fanns en gräns för vad man har rätt att köpa. Numera kommer knappt någon hit, förutom kapitalister som vill kolla hur vi lyckats upphandla skolan. Det som socialt progressiva kommer hit för att studera är sexköpslagen. Av den anledningen har Sverige blivit en bricka i ett slags globalt krig om prostitution, och därmed har det blivit

jätteviktigt för folk som är för prostitution att utmåla sexköpslagen som ett fiasko.”

Hur har det gått med den saken?

“Tja, tråkigt nog för dem har de studier som har gjorts om lagen visat att den har fungerat bra – trafficking har inte ökat som i närliggande länder, färre män köper sex och ingen har mördats inom prostitutionen, till skillnad från Holland där det mördas flera kvinnor om året. Men på grund av detta har det blivit så att när sexköpslagen diskuteras här i Sverige, så lyssnar resten av världen till debatten.”

Du har sagt att dagens sexhandelssituation är anmärkningsvärt lik hur den såg ut för hundra år sedan. På vilket sätt då?

“**UNDERFÖRSTÅTT ÄR DÅ ATT SEX ÄR EN RÄTTIGHET SOM SAMHÄLLET SKA TILLHANDAHÅLLA MÄN**”

“På det viset att vi har en utbredd sexindustri som är legaliserad, vilket också har lett till trafficking, som man tidigare kallade ”vit slavhandel”. Detta eftersom det rörde sig om kvinnor från Europa som skeppades i väg till andra kontinenter. Sexhandeln formar världen efter mannens begär. I den

thailändska sexindustrin finns specialbordeller för män från Mellanöstern, då de inte vill ha thailändskor; de vill ha ryska kvinnor. Men annars är det tvärtom nu – handeln går från Asien, Östeuropa, Afrika och Latinamerika till Europa, medan kvinnor härifrån forslades i väg till dessa platser för hundra år sedan. Men mekanismen är densamma, att en utbredd sexindustri leder till trafficking.”

Och varför är det så?

“Ska man ha en sexindustri som inte inbegriper trafficking, så måste den vara väldigt liten. Skälet är att det inte kommer så många frivilliga; särskilt inte i länder med en ganska bra levnadsstandard som i Sverige. Det finns inte tillräckligt många artonåringar som kommer och säger att de vill jobba

som prostituerade, och det är där traffickingen kommer in. Eftersom efterfrågan är större än tillgången, måste man åka och hämta folk i andra delar av världen för att ha arbetare som räcker.”

Hur har argumenten för prostitution förändrats sedan dess?

“Argumenten är i dag helt motsatta från hur de var då. För hundra år sedan talade man inte om köp och sälj, då fanns inte den här marknadsretoriken. Då talade man snarare om att det här var något som män behövde, och att ”fallna kvinnor” skulle stå till tjänst eftersom de inte dög till något annat. Det var en institution som behövdes för att bevara moralen, äktenskapet och civilisationen. Numera talar man däremot om det i termer av affärstransaktioner, som om det inte har någonting med män

och kvinnor att göra. Argumentationen har anpassats till marknadsspråket, och vissa hävdar till och med att det är förbundet med något subversivt och revolutionärt. Prostitution kan enligt dessa ses som en attack mot tvåsamheten, mot kärnfamiljen, och så vidare. Men vad det egentligen handlar om är att alla tider använder sig av de argument som funkar bäst för tillfället.”

En fråga som du har skrivit mycket om tidigare är surrogatmödraskap, ett fenomen som du ställer väldigt kritisk till. Varför?

“Det påminner väldigt mycket om prostitution, även fast det fungerar på ett annat sätt. Här handlar det ju inte om sex utan om reproduktion, men återigen är det välbeställda personer som använder mindre bemedlade människor som ett verktyg för sina egna begär. Surrogatmamman är bara ett hjälpmedel, och så fort köparna har fått vad de vill ha, så lämnas hon vind för våg. Och visst, vi har ju outsourcat allt nu från väst – alltifrån mobiler till callcenter har förlagts någon annanstans – men när till och med barnen ska tillverkas i andra länder åt oss här i väst, då kan man tycka att det börjar gå lite långt.” ●

Foto: Lea Honorine





LUND UNIVERSITY
Center for Middle Eastern Studies



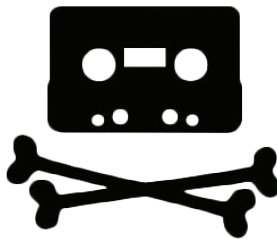
As flowers begin to blossom in Sweden, revolutions and social movements continue to bloom across the Middle East and North Africa. The uprising will change the region forever but will also impact life and business in Sweden.

Stay informed by following CMES Reports or by attending our public seminars for comprehensive analysis on the Middle East and North Africa
www.cmes.lu.se - facebook.com/cmeslund

Photo: CMES, Finngatan 16, Lund

Peter Sunde

Convict, Political Activist, Innovator



Peter Sunde, co-founder of The Pirate Bay, was released from prison last November after serving his sentence for copyright infringement. *Utrikesperspektiv* sat down with him briefly afterwards for an interview about his life, his views on our society and where it might be headed.



Photo: Aradhita Niccobryan

The Studentafton of January 21st was one of the first public appearances Peter Sunde made after being released from jail. He was arrested in May 2014, and after five months of incarceration, Sunde walked free on November 10th.

SUNDE SAT ON stage appearing relaxed for someone about to talk to hundreds of people. From his point of view, this must have been little compared to the Pirate Bay trials that ended in 2009. The line of questioning must have been easier too. Sunde was in a seemingly jovial mood and answered the questions posed with humor more often than not.

“I had my friend drive me to a fast food joint,” Sunde recalled, when asked about the first thing he did upon his release.

PETER SUNDE HAS with his actions caused great controversy, raising both supporters and enemies for the Pirate movement: a collection of loosely associated internet activist. They promote the freedom of information, government transparency, and human rights as their core beliefs. While still being a marginal political movement, Pirate Parties across Europe have made headway in gaining representation in several countries. For many reasons, the European Union has become one of the stages for promoting their agenda.

PROBABLY THE MOST interesting development for the Pirate movement happened late last

year. In November, a German Pirate Party MEP Julia Reda was tasked with drafting recommended legislation for the EU’s copyright policy. Sunde was cautious to praise this development, but more on an ideological basis. Reda’s participation in the matter is a welcome fact to him.

“In terms of copyright, I think that the suggestion from Julia Reda is really good and if they follow that it will limit a lot of the tensions there is. Just ignoring the copyright would be much better than now.”

A DEVELOPMENT NOT appreciated by all, however. After leaving her report on January 19th, the Pirate movement newssite Torrentfreak.com turned on Reda’s suggestions. Amelia Andersdotter reporting for the website claimed Reda’s report to be too much for the status quo. In line with Sunde’s fears, Andersdotter cited the largest failing of this legislation to be the fact it takes away power from the individual member states. Sunde shares these sentiments in a way too.

“The problem is, when you start talking about what they should and shouldn’t do, you kind of accept the position they have,” Sunde says when asked about what the EU’s role should be on the matter. “I think that we should limit the amount of power the EU has to begin with.”

SUNDE HIMSELF RAN for the European Parliament in 2014. He chose to run for the Finnish Pirate party but did not get elected. Overall, the Finnish Pirate Party failed to get any of

their candidates elected. They are also unrepresented in the Finnish Parliament.

“The Finnish Pirate Party is the one I dislike the least out of all the Pirate Parties. They are fun, they are more for whatever goes [for the individual candidate]. The Pirate Parties in Sweden and Germany are more about following the party line, which makes it hard for me to like them because it’s hard to know what might change in the future.”

SUNDE EXPRESSES DISAPPOINTMENT at the Pirate Party format in general as well. He feels many key issues risk being ignored with only a freedom of information ideology informing the organizations.

“Pirate parties are different in different countries, but they have only a few things to agree on so it usually works. The content of the Pirate Party is



Peter Sunde

- Peter Sunde is one of the founding members of The Pirate Bay, and was the website’s spokesperson until 2009.

- After the Pirate Bay trials, Peter Sunde was sentenced to one year in prison and ordered to pay damages of 30 million SEK.

very slim. It makes it easy for people to vote for them but it doesn't affect what happens with the other questions. So if the Swedish Pirate Party would come into the government, they would trade away the other questions, say immigration policy for any party that agrees with them on the other things. I could not see myself voting for them."

POLITICALLY, SUNDE FINDS himself more aligned with the more established left-wing parties.

"In Sweden, I like the Leftwing Party because they are very honest about what they think. I don't agree with all of it so I wouldn't run for them, but then again they don't want me to so it is a mutually beneficial situation."

SUNDE'S VIEWS ON the EU can be described as Eurosceptic. Many people might dismiss them simply as populist reactionary rhetoric. Yet talking with him leaves you with the impression of a man who has taken the time to weigh and measure his political leanings carefully. Furthermore, the EU is an European authority best suited for raising awareness of issues. Reforming it from within seems to be Sunde's preferred method so its useful features can be salvaged.

"If we could keep the EU as some sort of similar union as the Nordic Union, which people forget we have, would be good. Schengen plus some equal minimal rights, for example human rights and so on. There is a point to it then, but that would

be much less invasive scale. The modern EU is becoming more like a United States project."

“PEOPLE DON'T CARE WHEN THEY'RE EXPOSED. SNOWDEN MADE NO EFFECT”

THE FUTURE FOR Sunde at least in the short term, seems to be founded around the internet. Even though his Pirate Bay days are officially behind him, he is still online and working on new exciting projects to better utilize the capacity of the internet. His latest project is called Flattr, which was born out of the idea to find new ways for ethical funding.

"Flattr is a system where you pay a fee every month, and that amount gets shared between the people you flatter which is similar to pressing like on Facebook," Sunde describes the new system. "It's a way to show appreciation. If you write a blog post, and have the Flattr button, someone can click on it to give you a bit of money."

OF COURSE, BEING an innovative thinker, Sunde carefully follows other internet ventures and phenomena closely. Out of the most talked about ones, Bitcoin is a recent curiosity that has made news globally. The cryptocurrency was created by an unknown programmer to provide an anonymous way

to perform transactions and purchases online.

BITCOIN TO SUNDE is both a terrific idea and a potentially terrible disaster: "I hate it and love it. The best and worst part is the same: enabling people to do semi-anonymous transactions. Some people use it to dodge taxes, others use to evade governments that want to stop you from doing morally good things."

THE INTERNET HAS become the realm of social activism and government criticism. Wikileaks disclosed documents provided by Chelsea Manning, Edward Snowden and Glenn Greenwald are providing some of their NSA files online, and Aaron Swartz had tried to distribute academic journals online for free before his suicide.

"It was a really sad thing that happened with Aaron Swartz. He was so pressured," Sunde comments on his death, which happened in 2013. "Aaron was really a great person. I talked with him sometimes, but we weren't 'best friends'. I actually know two of his ex-girlfriends who are good friends of mine. This case was all about being

afraid of what Aaron could do even though it was morally and legally right. It didn't matter, he was chased into suicide."

EVEN WITH PEOPLE putting their lives at risk to do the morally right thing in exposing social ills, the effects seem to be lost on society in general.

"People don't care when they're exposed. Snowden made no effect. Whatever he reveals there is no things that change because of it, same goes with Manning. Nobody cares about the people killed in Afghanistan and Iraq that Manning disclosed. Nobody was charged with anything," Sunde explains now in a more frustrated tone. "We don't see ourselves being affected by it. It's the boiling frog phenomenon. We just accept it because we didn't see the big issue and it goes on and on. In the end when we realize this is totally f****d up, it is too late to go back."

So HOW CAN we change the prevailing attitude? As much as Peter Sunde engages in civic activism, he does not have any new ideas about how to engage more people to help change the world. "That's one of the big questions: how to find something in between putting your life at risk and just clicking 'like' on Facebook." ●

By: Arttu Närhi

Top: Member of the European Parliament hold paper masks depicting US whistleblower and former National Security Agency employee Edward Snowden during a vote in Strasbourg.

Middle and bottom: The political activist and computer programmer Aaron Swartz committed suicide, after being indicted for data-theft by the US government.



Photo: Green SEPA



Photo: Maria Jesus V



Photo: Timothy Krause



Foto: Stacy Haga

“DET FINNS STARKA KRAFTER I SAMHÄLLET SOM INTE VILL HA NÅGRA FÖRÄNDRINGAR”

Anna-Karin Johansson är generalsekreterare på Svenska Afghanistankommittén, en av de största utvecklingsaktörerna på plats i Afghanistan. För *Utrikesperspektiv* berättar hon om sina förhoppningar och farhågor rörande Afghanistans väg framåt de kommande åren.

Text: Marcus Bornlid **Foto:** Judith Frempomaa

Du säger att du just nu ser väldigt ljust på Afghanistans framtid. Vill du utveckla det lite?

“Det är allt som oftast en mörk bild av Afghanistan vi presenteras för här i Sverige, att det är djupt plågat av krig och korruption. Och detta är visserligen sant, men det är också väldigt viktigt att lyfta fram att det har hänt enormt mycket i landet de senaste tretton åren. Det är också viktigt att plocka fram att många afghaner gör enorma insatser för att landet ska förän-

dras till det bättre, och de måste få ett erkännande för det arbete de utför.”

Vilka är då de viktigaste stegen i rätt riktning som har skett under de här åren?

“Bland annat hur utbildningssektorn har utvecklats. Från att ungefär en miljon barn gick i skolan vid tiden för den internationella militära interventionen, är mellan sex till åtta miljoner som gör det i dag. Det är också en större andel flickor som går i skolan nu, vilket

naturligtvis är jätteviktigt. Dessutom har en bred mediescen - med allt från debattprogram till en afghansk version av Idol till ren propaganda - vuxit fram.”

Men bortsett från att fler flickor går i skolan i dag, har situationen för kvinnorna i landet förändrats nämnvärt?

“Ser man till officiella regeringsdokument har kvinnor stora rättigheter, och i Kabul är det faktiskt mycket som har hänt gällande hur många kvinnor som studerar, arbetar

Andra sidan: En allt större andel flickor i Afghanistan får tillgång till utbildning.

Nedanför: Anna-Karin Johansson ser ljust på Afghanistans framtid.



och rör sig ute på gatorna. Men, å andra sidan, tittar man på landsbygden är det inte speciellt mycket som har hänt. Åtminstone inte som är synligt. Däremot tror jag att det händer saker under ytan. Det är ju så att när samhället förändras, när kvinnor får tillgång till utbildning och hälsovård, så får de även möjlighet att delta i andra processer i samhället.”

Som du ser det, vilka är då de största problemen som Afghanistan har att tackla de kommande åren?

“Ekonomi, som har kollapsat efter alla dessa år av utflöden av utländska pengar. Och korruptionen och bristen på rättssäkerhet som gör de flesta afghanernas vardag väldigt osäker, och som även minskar förtroendet för regeringen. Det är också viktigt att poängtera att även om kvinnornas situation i viss mening har förbättrats är de fortfarande utsatta för ett enormt starkt förtryck. De misshandlas, de får inte lämna hemmet, och de får

oftast varken utbildning eller hälsovård.”

Afghanistans nuvarande president Ashraf Ghani Ahmadzai driver just nu en starkt reformistisk agenda, och säger sig vilja komma till rätta med de flesta av de problem som den nämnda korruptionen och bristande rättssäkerheten. Vad tror du om hans chanser att lyckas med sitt uppsåt?

“Det kommer att bli oerhört svårt. Det finns starka krafter i samhället som inte vill ha några förändringar. Men han är å ena sidan en enveten och stark personlighet, och han fick ett starkt stöd i presidentvalet (även om vi fortfarande inte riktigt vet om han fick mer än femtio procent av rösterna). Han har många unga människor med sig, han är kunnig och målmedveten, men hans svaghet är att han otålig och att han inte bygger de kontakter och nätverk han skulle behöva ha för att få igenom sina förslag. Men vi får vänta och se vad som händer.”

Du tror att den ”unga arga generationen”, som du kallar den, kommer att få stor betydelse för landets utveckling. På vilket sätt?

“Mer än femtio procent av Afghanistans befolkning är under femton år. Det är den första generationen på väldigt länge som har haft möjlighet att gå igenom en hel skolutbildning. Många av dem har väldigt stora förhoppningar på vad de ska kunna göra, bli och bidra med. Men de riskerar att komma ut i ett samhälle, där de har väldigt små möjligheter att få jobb och där korruptionen gör att det

inte är din kompetens, utan personerna du känner, som avgör hur det kommer att gå för dig. Ett samhälle där de, om de skulle råka ut för övergrepp, har väldigt små möjligheter att få rätt på juridisk väg. Detta skapar naturligtvis en frustration, och frustrerade unga människor kan ta till en mängd olika medel för driva igenom förändringar. Jag tror att det här kan bli en väldigt stark kraft i Afghanistan.”

Mycket talar för att den afghanska regeringen kommer att inleda fredsförhandlingar med talibanerna inom kort. Vad skulle detta kunna resultera i?

“Att få stopp på kriget och våldet är otroligt viktigt, men samtidigt är det så att det som ligger i potten är frågor som är svåra för det internationella samfundet att acceptera utifrån ett mänskligt perspektiv. Talibanerna kommer med all säkerhet kräva att kvinnors rättigheter beskärs - deras möjligheter att arbeta, deras möjligheter att utbilda sig. Medias rättigheter kommer de också vilja begränsa. Men det är svårt att säga i förväg exakt vad de kommer att kräva och vad de är beredda att ge upp, det får tiden utvisa. ●

SAK

- SAK arbetar bland annat med hälsofrågor, handiakappstöd, lantbruksstöd och pedagogik.

- 2013 bistod SAK 3.2 miljoner med sjukvård, och ungefär 125 000 elever går i de skolor som kommittén driver.

UN PROMISES GENDER EQUALITY BY 2030

The U.N. Secretary-General Ban Ki-moon has challenged all governments to reach the goal of equality for women by the year 2030. Twenty years have passed since 189 nations adopted a platform to achieve equality for woman, and the U.N. Chief argues that the key to speed up the development is getting men to change their attitudes. "Without changing the mindset of men we may not be able to change the current situation", he said during the opening session of the U.N. Commission on the Status of Women.

Source: *New York Times*



Photo: Marcel Crozet

1. CHILD MARKETS IN CHINA



Photo: Jonathan Keelty

It has come to light that a big proportion of the more than (according to the US State Department) 20 000 boys and girls who are abducted each year in China are being sold off online under the guise of abortion. Child trafficking has been a problem in China for a long time, but despite efforts by the authorities to solve the problem, the kidnappings show no signs of decreasing. Some critics argue that the child trade is fuelled by the country's one-child policy.

Source: *The Daily Mail*

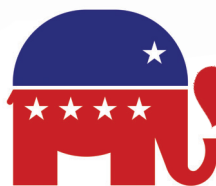
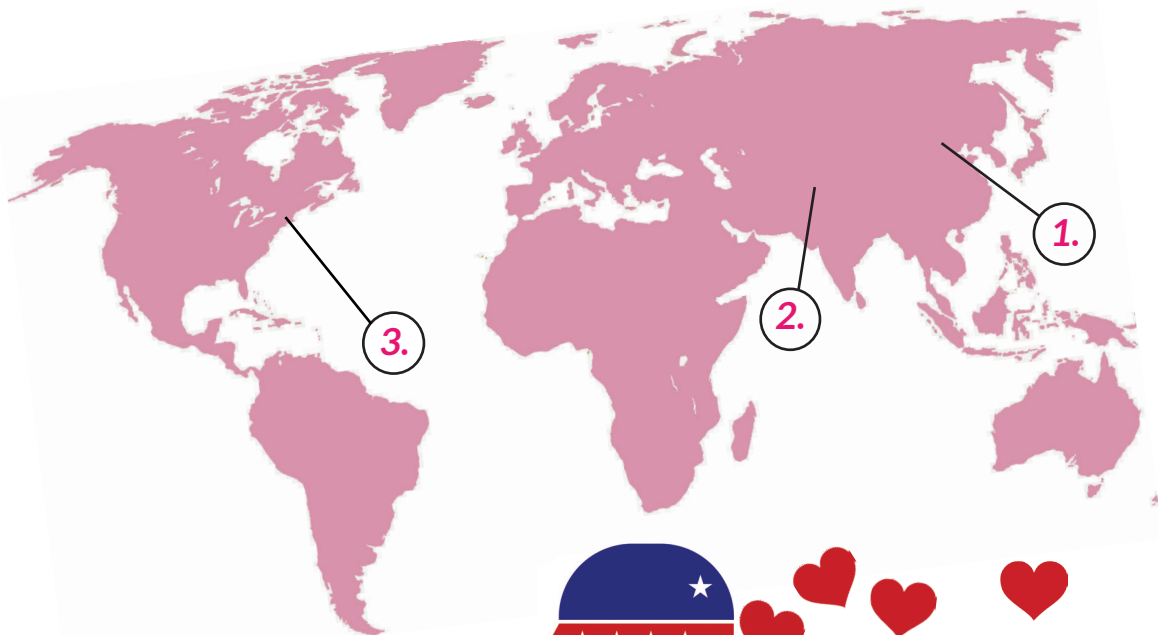
THE NUMBER

In 2012

11 000
people were
killed in
terrorist attacks.

In the same year,

437 000
people were
killed in
homicides.



3. FROM THE SENATE WITH LOVE

"I saw the letter; I saw that it looked reasonable to me and I signed it, that's all", was Senator John McCain's response to the tidal-wave of criticism that he, along with 46 other Republican Senators, have faced, following their decision to post an open letter to Iranian leaders, in which they urged them to back away from a nuclear agreement with President Barack Obama. The Republican's action was not only condemned by their political opponents in the US – even the Foreign Minister of Iran has suggested that the authors of the letter might have to learn a more about international as well as US laws in the future.

Source: *The Guardian*

2. HUMAN WASTE ON MOUNT EVEREST

Human waste is starting to pose a serious problem on Mount Everest, according to Ang Tshering, the chief of Nepal's mountaineering association. Approximately, 700 climbers attempts to scale the world's biggest mountain each year, and their waste has turned into a health hazard. "Climbers usually dig holes in the snow for their toilet use and leave the human waste there, Tshering has explained, adding the waste has been "piling up" for years.

Source: *The Guardian*



Photo: Namgyal Sherpa

Theme: **THE OTHER STORY**



The idea for the theme 'The Other Story' came up as a result of the incredibly skewed media coverage of Boko Haram's massacre in Nigeria, which occurred at the same time as the satire magazine Charlie Hebdo was attacked. With this theme in mind, our writers have investigated what is happening in the underreported corners of the world, and searched for new sides to stories told a thousand times in the same way.

We have tried to shake our perspectives, and with this new take we hope to add something to the already established picture. Or even change it entirely.



JOURNALISTIKENS

BLINDA FLÄCKAR



Utrikesjournalistiken står inför ett vägval. Läsarna efterfrågar ett nyhetsutbud som bättre berättar om det som tidigare varit dolt i konventionell media. Men det kräver en omprioritering och ett svar på frågan: Vems röst får höras och varför?

Av: Linnea Sandell

För ett år sedan stod Centralafrikanska republiken på randen till ett folk mord. Efter att den muslimska rebellgruppen Seleka genomfört en statskupp och övertagit huvudstaden Bangui mobiliserades en kristen milis av samma radikala natur, Antibalaka, vars mål var att ta över styret. Och att rensa ut alla muslimer från landet. Det brutala våldet ledde till massflykt och vad som en gång hade varit en muslimsk minoritet på sjuhundra tusen reducerades snabbt till knappt niotusen. Fredsbevarande trupper skickades från FN, Afrikanska unionen och, om än motvilligt, även från Frankrike. Konflikten stabiliserades, men staten är söndertrasad, freden är skör och vi får inga nyheter.

FACIT FINNS i vår hand, men vi har inte lärt oss. Folk mordet i Rwanda under 1990-talet har kallats den mörkaste tragedin i vår tid och den bristande journalistiska bevakningen bär en del av skulden. Trots detta har få spaltcentimeter i dagstidningarna ägnats åt den rådande situationen i Kongo-Kinshasa och ingen kontinuerlig bevakning sker alltså av Centralafrikanska republiken.

STAFFAN LANDIN HAR arbetat på FN:s utvecklingsprogram, UNDP:s, nordiska kontor och även varit anställd av stiftelsen Gapminder mellan 2007-2010. Gapminder grundades 2005 av Hans, Ola och Anna Rosling och är känt för sina animerade diagram som ska främja en mer faktabaserad världssyn. En gärning som har resulterat i att Hans Rosling år 2012 utsågs till en av världens hundra mest inflytelserika personer av *TIME Magazine*.

JUST NU ARBETAR Staffan Landin som frilansande skribent och har som föreläsare fortsatt att förmedla Gapminders mission; att göra statistiken kring världens utveckling förståelig och känd. Landin har föreläst för forskare och företagare, studenter och SIDA-medarbetare och alla har de en sak gemensamt: Deras bild av världens utveckling stämmer inte.

NÄR UTRIKESPERSPEKTIV TRÄFFAR

Staffan Landin tar han upp medias makt att forma vår världsbild, eftersom det främst är genom media vi informeras om omvärlden. Problemet är att media sällan ger en rättvis bild. Förutom att många områden är hopplöst underrapporterade, så saknar många historier vi serveras nyanser. Sådan är medielogiken, katastrofer och konflikter blir nyheter och människors vardag hamnar i skuggan.

DEN ICKE VINSTDRIVANDE medieportalen *The Conversation* genomförde en undersökning i samband med Boko Harams attentat i Nigeria och attacken mot satirtidningen *Charlie Hebdo*. Resultaten visade att det hade skrivits tre till tio gånger så många artiklar om Paris än om attentaten i Nigeria. Detta gällde anmärkningsvärt nog även för nigerianska medier och på de internetbaserade nyhetskanalerna var kontrasten ännu skarpare. Detta är ett nästan övertydligt exempel på medias skevhet.

SAMMA SKEVHET GÖR att nyheten om hungersnöd i nordöstra Kongo-Kinshasa verkar sträcka sig över hela landet, eller rentav hela kontinenten. Samtidigt är vår underskattning av världens utveckling bara en sida av myntet och det finns begränsningar med att beskriva världen i siffror och tabeller.

- Jag tror inte man kan utgå från databasen och tro att man kan förstå världen, utan det är ett av hjälpmedlen. Låt oss säga att man studerar utvecklingsfrågor, då kan man använda sig av siffror för att bekräfta sin världsbild eller för att studera eller analysera sin världsbild. Analysen, förklaringarna, behoven, åtgärderna – dem finner man ju inte i statistiken. Den andra begränsningen är att den inte ger några förklaringar, berättar Staffan Landin.

I FEBRUARI i år lämnade Magda Gad, internationell frilansjournalist och debattör, Sverige på obestämd tid för att rapportera om läget i Liberia. På sin blogg för *Café*

Förre sidan, övre:
En by nedbränd av rebeller i norra delen av Centralafrikanska republiken.

Förre sidan, nedre:
En eftermiddag i Bangui.

Denna sida, övre:
Staffan Landin föreläser för att ge människor en mer faktabaserad världsbild.

Denna sida, mitten:
Nanjala Nyabola är frilansande journalist som fått mycket uppmärksamhet för sin artikel *Why Do Western Media Get Africa Wrong?*

Denna sida, undre:
Magda Gad pratar med Zawu i Monrovia, som har sålt knark sedan han var tolv år.

berättar hon historier som sällan får ta plats i konventionell media. Det Liberia hon skildrar är skakat av ebolaepidemin, men det är också en plats där vardagslivet aldrig har slutat pågå. Hennes historier om drogmissbruk och prostitution ger förståelsen för problematiken och bilden av landet fler dimensioner än dagspressens typiska skildringar.

MAGDA GAD DELAR Staffan Landins syn att statistiken har begränsad förklaringskraft. Hon förklarar:

- I många länder i regionen där jag befinner mig i nu, Afrika söder om Sahara, så har de fattigaste det lika fattigt som de alltid haft det. Det är därför man behöver journalister på plats som kan lyfta de enskilda rösterna. Sedan ska vi också komma ihåg att lyfta positiva historier även från fattigaste Afrika, för sådana finns också och har man inte med dem blir perspektivet skevt.

I DAG ÄR hon en av åtta medgrundare till projektet *Blank Spot Project*, tillsammans med bland annat Martin Schibbye. Initiativet till projektet är sprunget ur nedskärningarna inom den svenska utrikesbevakningen, vilket har inneburit att nyhetsförmedlingen från vissa regioner blivit bristande och saknat analys. Samtidigt finns det en efterfrågan på djuplodande reportage från skribenter som tagit sig tid att lära känna en miljö förstått dess samhällsliga och politiska läge. Inte minst har efterfrågan visat sig genom att projektet genom crowdfunding lyckats samla in mer än en miljon kronor från ungefärligen tvåtusen bidragsgivare.

Varför behövs den här typen av journalistik?

- Svaret är enkelt: Folk vill läsa om det. Det finns ett stort intresse hos läsarna att få information om dolda konflikter och det måste vi svara upp



Foto: Magnus Ragnvid

på. Tar vi Kongo som exempel är en orsak till det kriget att vi i Västvärlden köper konfliktmineraler därifrån – mineraler som behövs till våra mobiltelefoner och datorer. Detta är något som människor har rätt att veta. Tar vi andra underrapporterade platser, som till exempel Eritrea och Somalia, är det viktigt att svenskar lär sig mera, eftersom många invandrade svenskar faktiskt har flytt från dessa länder. Det ökar då förståelsen för Sverige och människorna som lever där om vi vet var våra grannar kommer ifrån och har varit med om.

MAGDA GAD ANSER också att det är en fråga om mänskliga rättigheter, om folk-mord som inträffar där journalister inte är närvarande, och om etik, att granska vad svenska företag till exempel gör i Saudiarabien.

- Folk har rätt att veta och det är journalisternas ansvar att ge informationen, berättar hon.

NYHETER VÄRDERAS BLAND annat efter närhetsprincipen. Detta innebär att om

en händelse inträffat i vår direkta närhet eller på en plats som många människor redan har en relation till, är sannolikheten större att händelsen kommer att bli en rapporterad nyhet. Magda Gad förklarar att närhetsprincipen är del av förklaringen till varför krigen i Mellanöstern är välbevakade; de sker relativt nära Europa, vi har relation till de länderna, världsmakterna är involverade, journalisterna är redan insatta i situationen och människor påverkas direkt av oljepriset, för att ta några exempel. Samtidigt är kriget i Kongo knappt är bevakat alls, trots att det skördat fler liv än alla krig i Mellanöstern sammanlagt.

- Att som journalist åka till Kongo för att rapportera om vad som händer där tar mer tid, är mer riskabelt och kostsamt. Och säkerligen finns en rädsla hos redaktionerna att ingen ska vilja läsa en artikel om vad som händer i Kongo. I dag när alla redaktioner skär ner på kostnader och behöver många klick för att sälja annonser drar man sig för att göra satsningar utanför journalistikens "motorvägar", förklarar Magda Gad.

Få nyheter rapporteras från Eritrea, där oberoende medier överhuvudtaget inte existerar.

Foto: Jack Opo



NANJALA NYABOLA ÄR frilansande journalist och politisk analytiker, som skriver för *The Guardian* och *Al-Jazeera*. Hon är själv uppvuxen i Kenya och har ambitionen att själv vara en förstahandskälla när det kommer till att rapportera från Kenya och närliggande länder. Hon tror att en stor del av förklaringen till varför nyhetsrapporteringen är bristfällig ligger i den outtalade hierarkin där 'Väst' alltid kommer värderas högre än 'Resten'. Berättelser från 'Väst' är normen, som historier från andra platser alltid kommer att definieras i relation till, som det andra.

ATT EUROPEISKA MEDIER nedprioriterar nyheter från till exempel den afrikanska kontinenten kan kanske förklaras med närhetsprincipen, men som vi ser i fallet där nigerianska tidningar skriver mer om attacken i Paris än om attentaten i sitt eget land, är bevakningen från lokala medier inte alltid mer nyanserad.

- Det handlar delvis om pengar. Media i många afrikanska länder har inte haft samma efterfrågan som i västvärlden och har på så sätt ännu inte fått nog erfarenhet för att skapa en riktigt bra produkt med bra innehåll. Men det handlar också om sociala och institutionella inskränkningar. Media i många afrikanska länder är inte fria. Att vara journalist kan vara farligt och det finns inte samma utrymme att kritisera de med makt, vilket är själva syftet med den tredje statsmakten, säger Nanjala Nyabola.

EN ANNAN BIDRAGANDE orsak är språkets begränsningar. Journalister som kommer utifrån riskerar förlora en stor del av förståelsen om de bara talar något av språket, som används i landet.

- Jag är kenyan, och jag är trespråkig. Jag talar inte engelska på samma sätt som jag pratade kiswahili eller luha. Jag använder de olika språken i olika sammanhang och för att förmedla olika budskap. Så när Joe Schmoe från Reuters kommer till Nairobi och intervjuar människor på engelska om våldet efter valet kommer han inte

att förstå hela bilden, berättar Nanjala Nyabola.

I LIKHET MED Magda Gad tror Nanjala Nyabola att tidningar och andra nyhetsmedium underskattar efterfrågan på grävande journalistisk från underrapporterade områden. Hon förklarar:

- De tror inte läsarna är smarta eller kunliga nog för att kunna hantera komplexiteten, så de skär ner på detaljerna tills det bara finns kvar det absolut nödvändigaste och i processen tappas de mänskliga delarna av berättelsen bort. Jag tror att annonsintäkter och profit korrumpierar, så att medias funktion inte bara blir att informera allmänheten, utan också att sälja lösnummer och säkerställa varaktighet. Tidningar vill ha evigt liv och bryr sig inte så mycket om vad de måste offra för att åstadkomma det.

BLANK SPOT PROJECTS snabba insamling av ekonomiska medel demonstrerar att det finns en önskan bland läsare att få en ny typ av journalistik. Nanjala Nyabola säger sig också uppleva att ett missnöje har börjat bubbla bland människor som lever i underrapporterade områden. De har tröttnat på den generiska och förenklade bilden, de kräver sin rätt till komplexitet. Men tills dess att utrikesjournalistiken har slagit in på den nya vägen och låtit fler röster ta plats i medierummet kvarstår faktum att farorna med förenklad och okunnig utrikesjournalistik är stora. Människorna i det land som stod vid randen av ett folkmord för ett år sedan behöver omvärldens vakande öga och möjligheten att dela sin verklighet.

- Titta på hur det skrivs om kriget i Centralafrikanska republiken. Det finns inga namn. Det finns inga historier. Det finns bara ansiktslösa, stoiska afrikaner som kämpar sig igenom ännu ett krig. Vi har bestulit dessa människor på rätten att vara arga, att sörja, att känna frustration. Vi inte vet hur vi ska prata med dem, eftersom vi skickar människor som inte vet hur man säger "berätta din historia", förklarar Nanjala Nyabola. ●

African News Agency

- Den afrikanska nyhetsbyrån African News Agency har som mål att etablera sig i femton afrikanska länder till sommaren 2015.

- ANA:s vd Chris Borain har i ett uttalande skrivit att byrån ska leverera "afrikanska nyheter av och för afrikaner".

BEHIND THE VEIL OF TEHRAN

EDITORIAL

By: Anahita Nicoobayan



Photo: Paul Keller

Hijab, countless prohibitions and surveillance of sexual activity outside of wedlock. Nothing in the lives of people living in Tehran fits into the Western model of secularization and consumerism - unless the parallel universe of the city reveals itself to the spectator.

We move along the bustling, traffic and noise polluted street in the late afternoon. It is the day before my cousin's wedding and I was told that we were going to a salon of some sort. To the best of my knowledge and as far as my eyes could tell, however, the street where the salon was said to be located offered no establishments. It seemed to serve only as a passing street for the neighbourhood vehicles and people, and there were no entrances to anything other than to private courtyards.

JUST AS I was ready to express my scepticism to my sister and her mother-in-law, who were leading the way, they stopped and knocked on a grey door that I could have sworn had materialized out of thin air from the equally grey stonewall to which it belonged.

There were no signs on or above the door, and no windows to peek into to gather what might be happening on the other side of it.

A WOMAN ANSWERED the door and held it open for us, and we went through a few sets of curtains that had been hung behind the entrance to shield the inside activity from passers-by on the street.

I WAS SUDDENLY standing in the middle of what could only be described as a potential locale for a Schwarzkopf commercial. It was an ultra-feminine space that seemed to function as a hair-, makeup and nail salon simultaneously. The grey nuances of the street had been replaced with wall upon wall of glittering, shimmering, colour.

THIS WAS THE place where women came to have their appearance taken care of, only to cover up all but the face and bangs when returning to the outside world.

THIS, IN A nutshell, is Tehran. The surface reveals nothing of what is going on underneath. An untrained eye might see a typical street in Tehran as a heavily trafficked area where

Other side: "... a woman who cannot afford a nose job places a Band-Aid on her nose to give the impression that she does."

Nose jobs in Iran

- 200 000 Iranians, mostly women, go to cosmetic surgeons each year to reduce the size of their nose and make the tip point upwards.

- Iran has the highest rate of nose surgery in the world.

- The cost of an average nose surgery in Iran is 50-100m rials (about 15 000-30 000 kr).

-The average worker in a major urban area earns about 4 000 kr a month.

- A research group of the Arya Strategic Studies Centre in Tehran recently issued a report stating that while there are only 157 licensed cosmetic surgeons in the capital, about 7 000 people are actually doing such work there.

people are always on the move; where the women wear hijab and men and women engage in very little mutual interaction. But if one looks closely, one will notice why Iran is one of the countries in the world where the most cosmetics are sold and the word 'sex' is most frequently googled.

THE WOMEN, PARTICULARLY the young women, put an incredible amount of thought into their appearance. The men passing these women on the streets throw seductive comments their way whenever the opportunity arises and, strangely enough, do not wait for a response before addressing the next woman further on. This, it seems, helps release some of the palpable sexual tension that inevitably occurs in a climate where sex is on everybody's mind but nobody can speak openly about it. The youths who actually do want to engage in real conversation or contact might drive around in certain "rendezvous"-streets with their windows rolled down; after some driving back and forth and some quick conversation a piece of paper with a phone number scribbled down on it might fly in through the window of a passing vehicle. A few evenings later, these love matches might meet again at a nocturnal event in an underground venue – most of which are attended by both men and women and are, therefore, illegal. Not a day goes by without a newspaper publishing a story about the police shutting down a party on the ground floor of somebody's home. The same problems will occur for a man and woman driving alone in a car without weddings bands or family connection to present if caught. Sexual encounters outside of wedlock are forbidden and people are constantly monitored – if not by regular police then by "decency-police", i.e. people who take the liberty to comment on a veil hanging too far behind a woman's head. Although she might adjust it, she probably does not care; the veil is more of a fashion accessory to her anyway.

SPEAKING OF FASHION - labels are everything in this milieu. Since direct communication between the sexes is made very difficult, the way to communicate your social and economical status is through consumption. The brands of the clothes you wear and the car you drive reflects who you are as a person, which in turn makes consumerism a second language in Tehran.

THE WELL-HIDDEN SALON was just one of many unofficial street salons offering an incredible amount of services; all in order for people to live up to the incredibly high standards of beauty that circulate in an environment where censure has created an obsession with appearances. This obsession is even more prominent among the people who live in economic excess. If you happen to live in northern Tehran – where the mansions have swimming pools and where luxurious cars litter the streets – you would probably make a visit to a facility that offered laser hair removal, and a plastic surgeon might already have cut into your face. A recurring but truthful anecdote is that a woman who cannot afford a nose job places a Band-Aid on her nose to give the impression that she does.

FAR BE IT for me to decide whether these aspects of life in Tehran are painful or exciting, but a clear result of the sexual energy that is simmering underneath the surface is the exponentially greater thought that is put into appearances and, through it, consumption. While the examples given are only fragments of what is going on in contemporary Tehran, they paint a picture of what is happening in urban areas of many Middle Eastern countries. The veils and restrictions do nothing to dampen the universal pursuit of sex and the global spread of capitalism. Quite the contrary. They enhance it. ●

WHEN HOME IS NOT HOME ANYMORE

Whilst events in Ukraine are scrutinized ad nauseam, those personally affected by recent developments in the country are often ignored. With diverse and often conflicting experiences and stories, a single version of current events is impossible. *Utrikesperspektiv* decided to hear one of these many stories to provide some insight into a country that remains traumatized by immense changes and challenges.

Andriy Kravchenko is currently studying in one of universities of Kyiv, Ukraine. He was born in the Crimea's second biggest city, Sevastopol, in the middle of 1990's. *Utrikesperspektiv* interviewed Andriy to find out how recent events affected him and his family.

Can you please describe Sevastopol in your own words?

Sevastopol was established in 1783. Since Ukraine's independence, a significant part of the Russian navy has been based in Sevastopol. Thus, many Russian soldiers came to serve in the Russian navy here. Many of them eventually chose to retire in Sevastopol with their families. This was one of the factors

that led to an increase of ethnic Russians in the city.

After the Orange Revolution, President Yushchenko preferred to not prolong a contract that would have allowed the Russian navy to continue to be based in Sevastopol. A campaign was organized, started by Russia, sending the message that the Russian navy is the only 'real protector of Crimea'. We were told that there is a possibility of Crimean Tatar separatism in Crimea and that only Russian soldiers can provide stability there. It is strange now for me to think that when I was in high school that this was what I believed as well.

Can you tell us about your family and their connection to Crimea?

My father wanted to be a sailor in the USSR navy. He moved to Sevastopol to study to become a sailor and serve in submarines using nuclear weapons – a special project in USSR at the time. After his graduation, the USSR collapsed. He had a choice to either join the Russian navy or join the Ukrainian navy. There were more benefits for those serving in the Russian navy. They received better salaries, social assistance and housing, compared to the Ukrainian

navy. But his mom told him that it is better to stay loyal to Ukraine, because it is closer to his native city. He consequently took an oath to serve the Ukrainian navy.

I was born in Sevastopol and went to high school there. My father is dead now, but the other part of my family (my mother and sister) stayed in the city. I do not know what would have happened to him had he seen recent events - how Russians occupied all Ukrainian navy bases.

In your opinion is there something like a Crimean identity?

No, there is not. That is part of the big problem. There are basically three major identities: Ukrainian Crimean, Russian Crimean, and Crimean Tatars and other numerous, but less popular minorities like Armenians, Jews, Greeks etc.

After everything that has happened do you still consider Crimea your home?

After the 'referendum' in spring 2014, there were some protests. I remember seeing on television how police forces, that came back from Maidan, were suppressing it. It was very difficult for me to see just how much

INTERVIEW: **LIVING IN CRIMEA**

Photo: Sasha Maksymenko



pro-Russian support there was in Sevastopol, the most pro-Russian city in Crimea. It felt like I lost my city. When I returned to Crimea in May 2014, after its annexation, it was difficult to stay for very long. It did not feel like home any more. Everything has changed.

After the 'referendum' has the relationships with your friends and family in Crimea changed in any way?

Things got a bit difficult, because they knew that I was taking part in Maidan protests in Kyiv. Their reaction was strange. Some people supported me, but many of my friends and schoolteachers were saying: 'What was he thinking?' They were worried about numerous stereotypes, which were spread in Crimea by Russian TV. For example, drugged sandwiches at Maidan, hatred towards Russians and fascism. They wanted me to return to Sevastopol. The first time I visited home after the occupation of Crimea, they asked me when I plan to quit my studies in Kyiv and return to Sevastopol. For them, Kyiv was too dangerous a place to live and study.

A lot of my friends were extremely aggressive. It became clear that most of them were pro-Russian when I met them again. They were telling me: "Oh, Sevastopol as well as the whole Crimea has never been Ukrainian, it was always mostly Russian". They were very upset with me, saying things like Crimea is Russian and that I am not a patriot of my city. At that time, there was a lot of propaganda. It felt like they were just

repeating all that propaganda. First I tried to persuade them that things were not as straightforward, but I then realized that dialogue was not effective at all. After realizing that, we stopped talking about politics.

There were some friends, however, who were pro-Ukrainian. Some of them decided to leave Crimea, because it was too difficult for them to defend their pro-Ukrainian position, while others decided to stay. For them, leaving Crimea meant giving up.

What are the practical problems in Crimea at the moment?

Firstly, there is a huge transportation problem. Now coming from Kyiv to my hometown, I need to go through both Ukrainian and Russian customs. This can take up to 5 hours. In addition, Ukrainian trains do not go to Crimea anymore. This means that I need to change several times to get to Sevastopol.

Secondly, there is a problem with the banking system. Currently, we only have some small Russian banks for all of annexed Crimea. Big Russian banks do not want to go to Crimea, since they will be sanctioned by the West. As a result of this, we only have two small Russian banks for two million Crimeans.

Thirdly, there are several challenges that face occupied Crimea in regards to the supply of food. Previously, Crimea was heavily dependent on Ukrainian food supplies. Russia put sanctions against Ukraine, however,

mostly related to food. This meant that Russia became the sole source of food for Crimeans. Logistically, this was hard to achieve. This resulted in a lot of empty shelves in supermarkets. Because of this, the new Crimean leader asked not to include Crimea in the sanctions, because there simply was not enough food. Now, it is a little better, but still difficult.

How do you see the future of Crimea?

In my opinion, Russia is deliberately creating an environment that makes sure that those who disagree with the pro-Russian position leave Crimea. This especially affects Crimean Tatars, who generally take a very pro-Ukrainian position. For example, Musatafa Dzhemiliev, the leader of Crimean Tatar people have been banned from entering Crimea.

Moreover, Crimea is increasingly becoming a Russian military base. In fact, it is impossible to ignore the increased militarization of Crimea. For example, previously closed airports have now been opened, serving exclusively as a military base. It is not just the airports, however, as we can see more troops, weapons and tanks in Crimea. In light of these two factors, I get the feeling that the whole half-island would eventually become more and more pro-Russian and turn exclusively into a military base. ●

**By: Gabriel R du Plessis
and Olena Dudko**

In the aftermath of the Russian annexation, the economic inflation has skyrocketed in the region.



Photo: Nick Savchenko

Photo: Sasha Maksymenko



Since the Russian takeover of Crimea, the memory of the region's Ukrainian past is rapidly being erased and dissenting voices have faced harsh crackdowns.

People expressing the opinion that Crimea should be Ukrainian risks to be charged as separatists, and can be sentenced by up to five years in prison.



Photo: Sasha Maksymenko

SWORN VIRGINS OF ALBANIA



Imagine, growing up knowing you will never make any decisions in life for yourself. You will not work, won't have any political rights, cannot marry who you want or choose your own lifestyle. But what if there was an alternative to this path, chosen by your father and male relatives? What if the alternative was simply to become a man?

This is a reality for young girls in the traditional villages of the north Albanian mountains. Here resides an nearly extinct, fascinating group of people. They're known as burneshas (literally translated to "he-shes") or more commonly, sworn virgins. If they commit to a life of celibacy, and adopt all external attributes of a man, they will get access to all the social and economic rights that a man possesses. By acting and behaving like a man you will also be treated as a man.

THIS PHENOMENON EMERGED in the 1400's, after decades of warfare, bad growth and diseases. A consequence of this was a shortage of males. When the father or the last son in the family died, a girl would take the oath of celibacy and took over the role as head of the family. It served as a practical solution to the shortage of men. From this tradition came the right to carry a weapon, own property and move freely, which was only something men could enjoy.

IN ALBANIA, more specifically in the mountain villages in the north, people comply with the Kanun. The Kanun

is a set of codes and is not tied to a specific religion - both Muslims, Christians and non-believers follow these tradition. According to the Kanun you are supposed to dress and behave in a certain way that is consistent to the expectations of your gender role. It also states that families must be patrilineal, which means that only the men can pass on the family wealth. It is also patrilocal, and that implies that when a woman gets married she will belong to the house of her husband's family.

“YOU WILL GET ACCESS TO ALL THE PRIVILEGES AND FREEDOMS OF A MAN”

THE TRADITIONAL SOCIETY of Albania is strictly based upon the idea of having two genders with their specific roles in society. Since gender is, according to the Kanun, communicated through your external attributes such as clothing, you can simply choose your

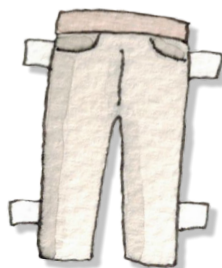
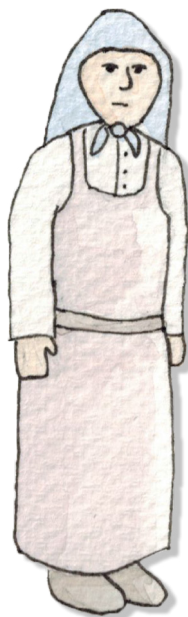
Albania

- 3 020 209 people live in Albania

- 25 out of 140 people in parliament are women

- 81% of Albanian females over 25 have secondary education

- 45% of Albanian women are in labour force



gender by adjusting your clothing. If you change your head scarf and apron to long trousers and wrist watches, you will be seen as a man. It is a creative solution to handle the rigid gender roles. It is important to note that this is not a matter of sexual orientation, or a swap of sexes in a biological way.

WHEN THE PRACTICE emerged, women and girls were worth as much as animals. Literally, a woman was worth the exact same amount as a cow, and only half the value of a man. Sworn virgins could also participate in blood feuds. If a sworn virgin was killed in a blood feud her death counted as a full life for the purposes of calculating blood money, rather than the half a life ordinarily accorded for a female death.

So WHY DO some women chose to change their gender, even if they aren't forced to do so? Sometimes marriages are arranged already at birth. When the marriage is decided there is no way back, to revoke an arranged marriage is simply not thought of as a possibility. Refusing to fulfill an arranged marriage would be very dishonoring to the

groom's family, and would put your family in a bad light. However, if you chose to take the vow of celibacy and become a man, no harm will be done. Such a decision would be totally accepted and respected. Some women argue another reason is simply that it will be worth abstaining from having a sex life and a family of your own, because you will get access to all the privileges and freedoms of a man. However, anthropologists report indications that some sworn virgins have been persuaded into it by their mothers, who might see their daughters liberation as somewhat their own, since they themselves never experienced anything such as individual freedom.

THE SWORN VIRGINS of Albania is now an almost erased phenomenon. Over the last years women have started to gain more rights in society. The conditions that created the burneshas are relaxing. It is now easier for women from the traditional villages to move away, get an education and choose their own lives. Life in the rural areas of the Albanian mountains are changing, and the strong, patriarchic societies cannot exist in the same way anymore. People move into the cities, and abandon the traditional and old-fashioned lifestyle in the countryside. Today, there are about 40 burneshas left. ●

Text: Sofia Ekhem
Illustrations: Hannes Petri

***From
the
Grey
Side***

***of the
Wall***

“A CONCRETE BLOTCHED WITH THE HUES OF RELIGION, PARTY POLITICS, AND STATE CONTROL”

In the slim shadow of the colossal wall, who could but question the power of the Israeli state – yet although set by a sterile grey on its face, once through the thicket of concrete and barbed wire, a glance back shows that a new wall stands in its place. This wall preaches to each passerby with its layer-upon-layer of colored tales of infliction. A political motif to line the division of the West Bank.

However, with a more trenchant eye one cannot help but notice that there is no Arabic, no Hebrew to be found within the mesh of letters being echoed as I read the English text. Mixed in with a bit of German, I even skim across a Swedish word of freedom – FRIHET - in bold and outlined text. So many words and so many voices, but yet the wall is utterly bare of any hint of local calls to action. With re-elections just weeks away – set on the 17th of March – I find myself straining to hear those muffled by the clamor of international attention around the Palestinian conflict.

DAYS LATER I found myself sitting down with Uri Peled, a 25 year old Israeli citizen with four years of military service in the Israeli special forces and multiple injuries and stab wounds to detail his CV. An exhilarating two hour chat over the evolving political landscape of the Israeli elections brings my

mind back to the empathetic messages coloring the West Bank wall. His Hebrew narrative cast a new light on the graffiti, exposing the glossy sheen of imported paint embellishing it.

RATHER, PELED LIMNS a concrete blotched with the hues of religion, party politics, and state control. Here's his story.

“This is democracy. There is a lot of religious people in Israel and of course a lot of politicians fighting for their votes, so they have to satisfy them and in order to do that they have to ensure that there will be place for religion in Israel. This is bad because unfortunately where you see religion you don't see much education. There is nothing good that comes from religion - only wars.”

What is a major policy issue that you are concerned with for the up-and-coming elections?

“The housing market, it's a big problem in Israel. To buy an apartment you need to save 130 paychecks - which is impossible because no one keeps their whole paycheck. Even if you keep half it would take you 30 years to buy an apartment. And rent is also extremely high. They make it impossible for young people to settle down and start a life. It's really frustrating.”

“[In the elections] I'm looking for someone that actually speaks about

Candidate Lists:

Likud:
Benjamin Netanyahu

Zionist Union:
Isaac Herzog &
Tzipi Livni

Yisrael Beiteinu:
Avigdor Lieberman

The Joint Arab List:
Ayman Odeh

Yesh Atid:
Yair Lapid

Kulanu:
Moshe Kahlon

this problem, because many don't even want to address it. For Netanyahu, the answer doesn't matter because as he sees it, if we don't take care of Iran then the answer doesn't really matter. It's absurd."

And what is your opinion on the Jewish State Bill that was being pushed through the Knesset?

"That is not democracy. It is exactly why Arabs here in Israel are unable to do or say anything; the reason why Arabs are regarded as second degree citizens here. They have no one to really represent them more than to a marginal degree. No one lets them say anything, they have no real political voice. There hasn't been political solidarity between the Arab factions, but now, as a result of Lieberman's failed attempt to expel them from the Knesset [by raising the threshold for party qualification], there is one strengthened Arab unit. This union is actually really good for Israeli Arabs. As you see throughout the political landscape now: as things are getting difficult, coalitions are formed."

"From the right's perspective, you basically see negotiation with Arabs as pointless because Arabs aren't viewed as people, but rather as second degree humans, even less than human. And then you have the left, who hasn't given up on the dream (and I don't like calling it a dream because I do hope that it comes true) of coexistence and the option of living together, of living in peace. But these are the two options - to either live in peace or to just continue on

the path we are on now and go to war every year or something."

"For me, the difference between the left and the right is between seeing the big picture and the small picture. The right is seeing the small picture, which is very easy. Imagine it as kids at school, and one kid pushes you. The easiest thing to do is to punch him back. Israel has the ability to do that very easily with such a strong army, but this is not the solution. The big picture, on the other hand, is to try to make peace with the kid that pushed you and understand what made him do it. This is exactly what we need to do in the situation here, try to understand why things happen and what is the source of the problems. The Arabs are in a desperate situation. When they have

"Really, it's only an issue for the people on the left because the right doesn't even view it as an option. The right wants the division as it is now, between Israel and its occupied territory. On the Left, the moderates advocate for the two state solution, while the more radical still believe in a one-state peaceful co-existence.

"I know how I would like things to be, but I just don't know if that is possible anymore. With generation after generation growing up on nothing but hate for the other side, it seems impossible at this point to live in the same country in peace. But they do have - they must have - their own country. As long as it stands as it is today (under our jurisdiction) it's like a colony. It's impossible. It doesn't work."

“IT'S HARD PULLING THE TRIGGER WHEN YOU DON'T BELIEVE IT SHOULD BE DONE”

nothing to lose, then they don't care about being blown up in a bus. You have to see the whole picture. We can't keep going to war every summer. This is not a solution. For the right-wing parties this is what they want for the future - conflict."

Do you think that the Palestinian peace process play a key role in electorate agendas?

"There are two main obstacles to real peace. First, there have been too many generations that have grown up on hate, nothing but hate. It is this that makes it really difficult to make peace. Second, it's religion and nothing good, absolutely nothing good comes of it. It brings nothing but wars. When someone believes they are of pure blood and you are not, this person becomes extremely hard to speak with. When I speak to someone



that truly believes that they were born better than me, then we have many more problems than just political disagreements.”

“For me, I am both a human being and an Israeli. Although I am pretty proud to be an Israeli, I am first a human being and only after that an Israeli. I will not lose my humanity for being an Israeli. And I will never speak as though I was born better - because of my religion, because of my blood, because of parents... never. That is the difference between religion. The Israeli Old Testament says that the Jews are the chosen nation, the chosen ones. This is absolutely wrong and a deep rooted cause to the entire conflict.”

Do you feel detached from the Palestinian conflict?

“No, I am very concerned and involved. As a soldier you actually have to do what the gov-

ernment tells you. It's your life and other people's lives. It's not like being a civilian. And I've got to tell you, while I was in the army I felt like I was doing things sometimes just for the politicians' own benefit. They don't give a shit about what I was doing there. They don't care about human life. They care about their credentials, their career. They don't give a shit about anything else. As a soldier, at the end of the day it is you that has to do it. And it gets really hard when you don't agree with it.”

“In the army I had to protect villages in areas that were not our land, in places that were not suppose to be Israel. It was hard. You want to turn to the Israeli people you are there to protect and tell them this is not our land, this is not your place to build a home. This...this is their place. And then I'm here to protect you, all because some idiot in the government wanted

some political gain. It sucks. And this is an easy operation. It's hard pulling the trigger when you don't believe it should be done, you know?”

Do you think that serving in the military makes people become more politically involved?

“Yes, especially in combat position because when you are there you can no longer think about it, you are living it. And it's really a shame because some soldiers never ask themselves why they are doing these things. They pass the whole army without once questioning themselves. But when you do you really have to think about things, especially things that are morally difficult. In the army you find yourself in situations where it's either you or them.” ●

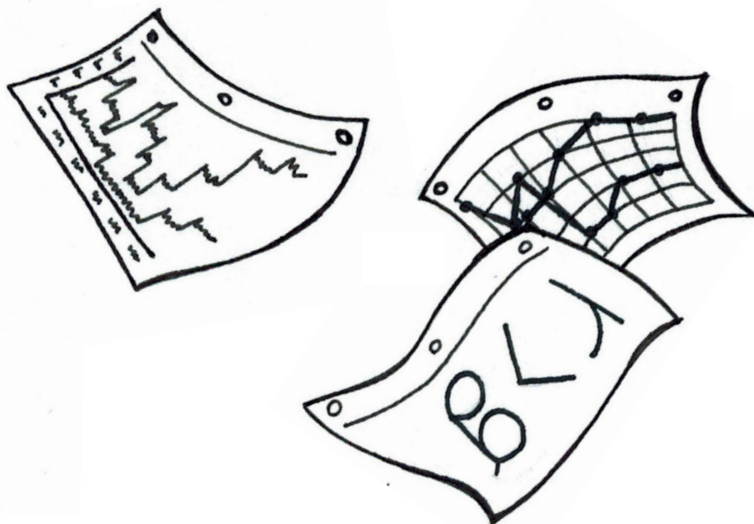
By: Malin Elise Rosengren

Piketty

UNDER FIRE



It has been called the most influential economic essay since Marx's "Das Kapital", and has stirred up a heated debate among scholars. But while many praise Thomas Piketty's *Capitalism in the 21st century* as a fundamental game changer in economic science – taking a closer look, it has become increasingly more evident that very little can be inferred from his results. In fact, when accounting for all the limitations in the essay's validity – all that is left is a political debate article.



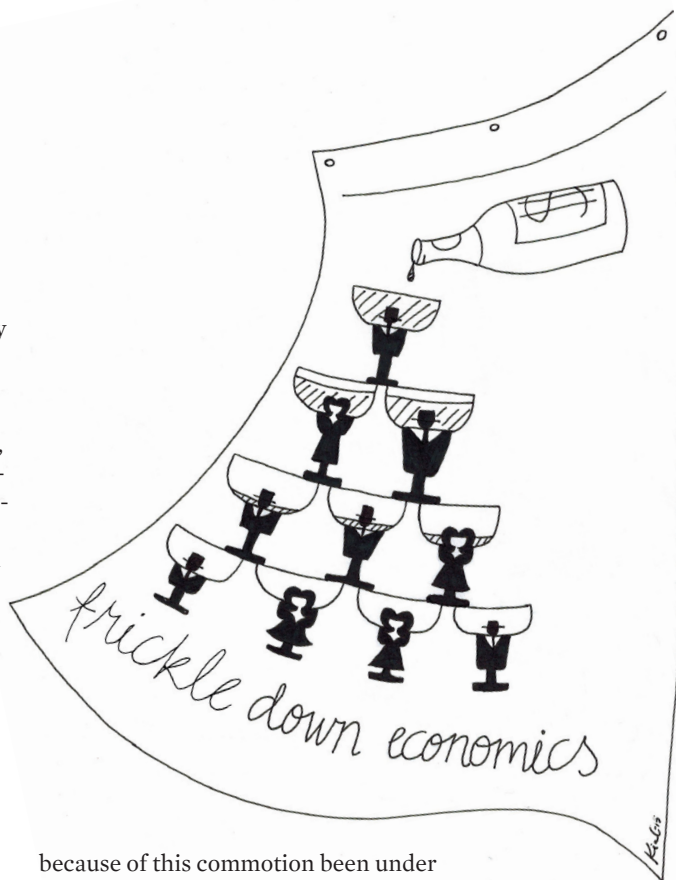
In "Capitalism in the 21st century", Thomas Piketty examines wealth and economic inequality in the western world (Europe and the U.S.) from the 18th century until today. His thesis is that economic inequality is not an accident, but a core feature of unrestrained capitalism. To prove this, he defines an economic formula which stipulates that during periods when the rate of return on capital (specified as the variable r) is greater than the rate of economic growth (specified as the variable g), a concentration of wealth accumulates leading to an unequal distribution of wealth (when $r > g$).

HIS FINDINGS also support this thesis, showing a steady increase in economic inequality since 1975. The reason behind this increase, he argues, are the neoliberal fiscal policies that have dominated the economic policy making since the 70's. Policies that have been imposed by large multi-national companies who have infiltrated public policy making. This leads him to argue that this process will lead to a democratic deficit by creating an oligarchic power structure, severely undermining the democratic system. The solution to this problem, he argues, would be an introduction of a global tax system, including a global progressive income tax of up to 80 % and a global wealth tax of 2 %. While arguing these measures would improve the global economic inequality, he remains sceptical to its actual feasibility, since it would demand a major international effort.

OF COURSE, HIS CONCLUSIONS were received well by leftist scholars, politicians and media, who predominantly constituted the backbone of the book's medial success. However, the book has

because of this commotion been under constant scrutiny by other non-leftist scholars – who have pointed out a few major limitations in the essay.

THE PROMINENT ECONOMISTS Stefan Homburg and Joseph Stiglitz point out that Piketty's wealth concept only concentrates on capital – not land, technological development or natural resources which in reality is the backbone of economic growth. These factors are left out by Piketty. Another major objection to Piketty's conclusions come from the Harvard professor Lawrence Summers. He challenged Piketty's general assumption that the returns from wealth are mostly reinvested (a fact that would keep the rich rich) – and conducts his own study showing that of the 400 wealthiest Americans in 1982 – only 1/10 remained on the same list in 2012. This shows that most of the wealthiest people in America have not increased their wealth. Instead he, and many other scholars argue, that the world's



Illustrations: Kia Carolina

Capital in the 21st Century

- Original version (*Le Capital au XXI^e siècle*) published in August, 2013.

- English version published in April, 2014.

- 1,5 million copies sold by January 2015 (in French, English, German, Chinese and Spanish).

- Piketty's current institution: Paris School of Economics (EHESS).

wealthiest 1% increase their wealth by means of globalisation and technological development – and not by reinvested capital gains.

MEANWHILE, SCHOLARS at Harvard and MIT have criticised Piketty's claim that economic inequality leads to social inequality. By conducting a cross-country comparison between Sweden and South Africa, they could draw the conclusion that institutional factors are much more important than the difference between rate of return on capital and growth. Basically, this suggests that social equality is created by lack of corruption, strong rule of law and a well-functioning bureaucracy – not economic factors.

LASTLY, THE MOST FUNDAMENTAL critique that has been launched against Piketty is concentrated on the very relevance of the essay. *The Financial Times*

columnists Martin Wolf and Clive Crook point out that Piketty fails to address why economic inequality is an important issue at all. He suggests that the rise in inequality is undermining democracy, which is a major part of his essay – but never presents any facts of any kind to prove this. Instead, this notion is simply assumed. In fact, while successfully demonstrating that economic inequality exists and is increasing, Piketty never explains why economic inequality is a relevant focus for economic research in the first place. By doing this, readers are misled to believe that economic inequality is an important problem – though this essay never presents any evidence for that.

THE POLITICAL SCIENTIST Hannes Hólmsteinn Gissurarson points out further flaws in Piketty's normative focus, as he observes that Piketty puts all of his focus on the rich, and none on the poor – despite the inherent fact that economic inequality consists of these two dimensions. But since most economic research has shown that world poverty is steadily decreasing (e.g. most recent UN-report on poverty), this would not have helped to support Piketty's thesis.

SO WHAT REALLY is left of *Capitalism in the 21st century* after taking all these limitations into account, is merely a very thorough analysis of capital that shows that inequalities are increasing. But it has no scientific base to claim that this is an important problem – instead the relevance of this essay is dependent on the preexisting values of the reader. You might in this case say that relevance is in the eye of the beholder... ●

By: Adrian Taleny



Picture by: Warko. Photomanage: Kia Carolina

AUSTRIA

RETHINK. INNOVATE.



Austria keeps making the same mistakes over and over. The nature of involvement of foreign investment actors has been proving unhealthy to Austria's economy and Austrians must realise that the road to recovery lies within.

The principles of the Austrian School of Economics, a school of economic thought, can be said to apply to every individual.

It explains that the decisions of an individual shape the economy. These decisions, which include an opportunity cost, are based on the manner in which the individual thinks about their best interest. Being concise, the above mentioned theory of methodological individualism can be applied to the Government of Austria, as an individual entity, which at the moment is willing to compromise the very high standard of living of its people.

THE GLOBAL FINANCIAL crisis hit Austria in 2009 and the economy has not completely recovered as yet. The export of goods and services fell from 6.5% in 2005 to -15% in 2009. Conditions kept getting worse as of 2012 when the debt ratio had reached 74% of GDP. The debt to GDP ratio is the amount Austria owes to other countries in comparison to what it produces. As a country within the euro area, Austria must participate in an annual declaration of fiscal plans, the Austrian Stability Programme. The stringent government savings programme managed by the Federal Ministry of Finance is the Federal Financial Framework, 2013-16. As per the 28 billion euro programme the government aims to curb its public expenditure in areas including the social security scheme, the pension system, public subsidies and public administration. Further, it has directed the Austrian Federal Railways and Länder (states) and municipalities to

generate savings. This aims to lower the debt ratio to 70.6% by 2016. Amidst gradual national efforts to heal a strained economy, there have been some noteworthy downslides manifesting in the background.

WEAK ECONOMIC CONDITIONS have infected the banking, real estate and telecommunication space to name a few. Margarita Grushanina, a macro analyst, Major Markets and Credit Research team, Erste Group Bank, explains that the downturn in the Austrian economy has been significant since 2014 due to “weaker than expected economic growth in major export destinations (France, Italy), relatively high inflation in Austria compared to major trading partners and sluggish growth of private consumption mainly due to very low growth of disposable income”. Closely related, in March, 2015, the Austrian government decided to stop pampering state owned “bad bank”, Hypo Alpe Adria. The bank made an unreasonable request of 7.6 billion euros for a rescue operation. The reason it found itself in such a mess is due to bad loans held by incapable foreign debtors. It will not be long before the bank is declared insolvent. Consequently, amongst any other region, this this will prove the capital's real estate market comfortably numb.

AS OF 2014, a host of super rich Arab, German and Russian investors inflated Vienna's property prices by 22%. Such individuals are set to grow in numbers all through until 2023, after which they will have an irreversible impact on the Viennese real estate market. However, Vienna does not recognise that this is

Austria

- Austria's current population is 8.4 million.

- From 2008 to 2013 Austrian GDP has grown merely from 427 billion to 428 billion dollars.

- Austria, once an oil producing nation, today is a promising land for green jobs.

a faulty attraction. Such investors will prove to be a burden on the average income family in the long run. While, on one hand, household consumption expenditure of families builds annually at a snail's pace. Austria's DIY, on the other hand, home improvement chain intends on packing up its bags.

“THE REASON IT FOUND ITSELF IN SUCH A MESS IS DUE TO BAD LOANS HELD BY INCAPABLE FOREIGN DEBTORS”

LACK OF CONSUMER demand and bills held by creditors has forced the management of Baumax, a 39 year old company, to hold meetings with potential bidders interested in buying the company. As of now, companies in, Brittan and France have shown interest in the acquisition. As last resort, the retired Baumax founder, Mr. Karlheinz Essl has agreed to invest in the company by selling his 7000-strong art collection. The future of the DIY chain will eventually be decided, although for now there is one acquisition that has already floated.

IN 2012, CARLOS Slim Helu, the wealthiest telecommunication billionaire, acquired 22% of Telekom Austria Group, the largest telecommunications group

of Austria. The investment appeared to be fruitful and today Mr. Slim, through his Mexican telecommunications operator, America Movil (AMX), owns 60% of Telekom Austria. Business made Mr. Slim happy, until recently. In 2014, Telekom Austria made a net loss of 185 million euros due to its Bulgarian subsidiary. Eventually, this confirms one trend.

BETWEEN 2012 AND 2015, every major Austrian business deal has been affected or directly influenced by foreign investors. Irrespective of whether the deal involves a banking investment, real estate gamble, retail bargain or telecommunications operation, it has proven a complete disaster. In the time period between 2008 and 2013, three economic indicators, namely, Gross Domestic Product, growth rate of industrial production and imports versus exports, all have been proven negative. Austria's GDP has grown by only one billion dollars, the growth rate of industrial production fell from 2.4% to 0.5% and exports have grown only by 2 billion dollars. This while imports have been in excess, 5 billion dollars and 2 billion dollars between the two years respectively. Going by the principles of the Austrian school, by now, Austria would have learnt from its mistakes, although modern Austria, wishes to be a little more adventurous.

ON THE HOME ground, faulty business practices through foreign alliances appear to have altered economic conditions. If this was not enough, now, Austria might be strangled into a political alliance, called the Turkish Stream. This stream will involve Gazprom



delivering Russian gas from Russia all the way to Hungary and possibly into Austria. Knowledge of the Russian war in Ukraine, has led Western economies to slap trade sanctions on Russia. In return, Russia has found an ally in Turkey in order to carry on business. It might be logical and beneficial for Austria to pardon themselves from such a deal. First, any alliance with Russia might backfire Austria and second, it would be most rewarding if Austria developed its current and existing resources for future development.

THE FEDERAL MINISTRY of Transport, Innovation and Technology (BMVIT) and the Climate and Energy Fund collectively provide for a strategy based energy efficient urban lifestyle programme, Building of Tomorrow, with the objective of achieving Smart Cities. These are pilot projects in several Austrian cities aimed at urban development.

“FORTUNATE- LY FOR AUSTRIA WORK HAS ALREADY BEGUN”

VOLKER SCHAFFER, SENIOR Expert, Tina Vienna explains, ‘Smart City Wien is the main (roof) strategy of the City of Vienna. It works as an umbrella for all the existing and ongoing sectorial strategies and programs, The Urban Development Plan (STEP2025) for example is one of the first sectorial strategies under the umbrella of the Smart City Wien Framework strategy’. Smart City Vienna, launched under Mayor Michael Haupl in 2011, aims to secure the livelihoods of 3 million projected inhabitants of Vienna by 2025. The plan includes one of Europe’s largest construction projects, Aspern – Vienna’s Urban Lakeside. The goal is to provide affordable housing, jobs,



infrastructure and public transport for the given population. Vienna will also launch Citizens' Solar Power Plants, where citizens can take part in the development of renewable energy. As per the Urban Development Plan 2025 (STEP), Vienna aims that of all transport trips by 2025, 80% are made by public transport.

LIKewise, caims at 'zero-emissions' through intelligent technologies. Its focus will be on achieving green lifestyles through investments in research for and setting up of solar technologies. Graz also has sustainable urban mobility as one of its objectives. Very similar to this is the Salzburg - Smart Grid to Smart City initiative where certain project initiatives are being fulfilled through the European 'Green Solar Cities'.

THE ABOVE INITIATIVES can prove as counterattacks to the traditional business practices. These new approaches are majorly, home grown innovative

solutions. Through investments in alternative energy instead of company stocks, public transport instead of financial rescue operations and zero emissions, with the aim of minimising number of people below the poverty line, Austrians will enjoy a confident future. At the moment, population below poverty line has grown from 6% (2008) to 6.2% and the unemployment rate has clocked at 5% due to weak domestic demand all through 2014.

FORTUNATELY FOR AUSTRIA, work has already begun. If existing urban planners, green tech experts and city level political entities unite over the results achieved through Building of Tomorrow, they will be able to rope in pure Austrian business and industry interest. A union of science and industry will help Austria break from the chains of foreign dependency. It will make Austria soar like an eagle. ●

By: Saahil Waslekar

Salzburg is one of the European 'Green Solar Cities'.

TRUTH IS STRANGER THAN FICTION

The year is still young, but strewn across these select few months is a plethora of political faux pas; at times so ridiculous, they may seem drawn from the demented mind of a comic genius. *Utrikesperspektiv* selected our top three—a salient reminder that in the world of politics, truth is often stranger than fiction.

By: Gabriel R du Plessis



Photo: Erik Feferberg

Millions marched through the streets of Paris after the Charlie Hebdo in January. World leaders were no exception, walking arm in arm in solidarity in support of freedom of speech. Staunch defenders of freedom of speech such as the prime minister of Israel, Benjamin Netanyahu, whose forces have killed a reported seven journalists last year. Foreign Minister Lamamra of Algeria, detaining journalist Abdessami Abdelhai for 15 months without charge. King Abdullah of Jordan,

who in 2014 sent a Palestinian journalist to jail for 15 years with hard labour. Prime Minister Ahmet Davuto lu of Turkey. The country has imprisoned a staggering 40 journalist last year. The president of Mali, Ibrahim Boubacar Keïta, known to repeatedly expel journalists covering unflattering human rights abuses. Is this the year's most spectacular moment of collective hypocrisy and number one on our list? I think 'oui'.

MUGABE DOES NOT FALL ON THE GROUND. THE GROUND FALLS ON MUGABE.



Photo: Warfaa Friye

Zimbabwean dictator and all-round good guy, Robert Mugabe, recently took a mighty tumble after speaking to supporters from a podium in the country’s capital, Harare. The nonagenarian managed to recover remarkably fast. Not, however, without outright denying that the tumble ever happened. Instead, journalists on the scene were quickly forced to delete any footage of the president ‘not falling’. Rather tellingly, however, state-owned media responded with a comprehensive list of other leaders who, unlike the president, have fallen. In addition, people were reminded that, even if Mugabe fell, which he did not, Jesus would have fallen too. The president ultimately underestimated the power social media. Captured footage of the incidence managed to make international headlines which were turned into a series of acerbic memes. Mugabe fought a good fight. Unfortunately for Mugabe, however, social media fought it better.



LET IT SNOW

In February, an American Senator, James Inhofe, chairman of the Environment and Public Works Committee, managed to turn the country’s senate floor into a scene reminiscent of a Marx Brothers episode. Inhofe, a vociferous climate change denier, is known for his position that climate change is “the greatest hoax ever perpetrated on the American people”. Not to be deterred, the senator walked to the floor, snowball in hand, declaring “we keep hearing that 2014 has been the warmest year on record.” In his right hand, however, Inhofe held evidence to prove otherwise. “I ask



Photo: Robert Lanham

the chair, you know what this is?” he said. “It’s a snowball”. The world stands corrected. It is snowing in Washington; it cannot possibility be true. I just finished a delicious meaty burger. Looks like there is no such thing as world hunger either.



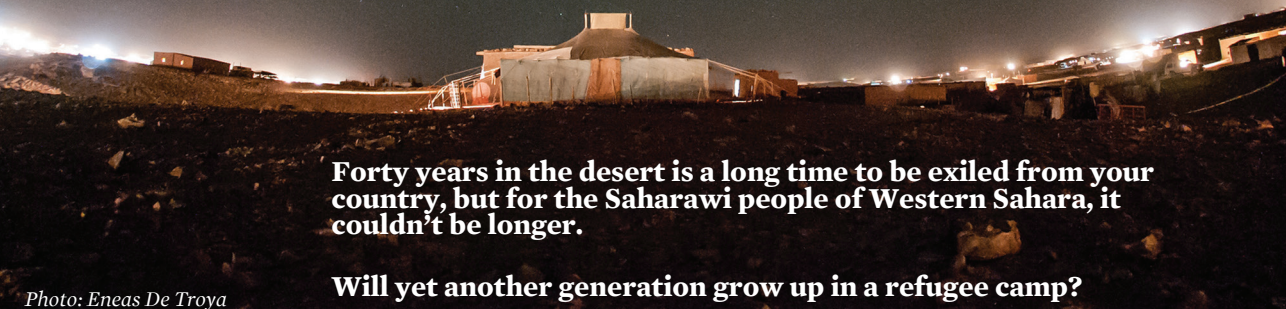
DEPARTURE

José Mujica, the Uruguayan politician who has been described as the “the world’s humblest president” resigned the 1th March of 2015, after five years in office. The former guerrilla fighter was imprisoned for 13 years during the country’s military dictatorship in the 1970’s and 1980’s, and became celebrated all over the world for his downscaled lifestyle and habit of donating 90 per cent of his monthly salary to charity.

Photographer: Eduardo Santillán



SILENCED IN THE SAHARA



Forty years in the desert is a long time to be exiled from your country, but for the Saharawi people of Western Sahara, it couldn't be longer.

Photo: Eneas De Troya

Will yet another generation grow up in a refugee camp?

Above: *Refugee camp in Algeria*

For many, Western Sahara is known only as a perpetual grey spot of 'no data' on maps of Africa. But this territory has a much more interesting story. Located in western Africa between Morocco and Mauritania, Western Sahara is about the size of the United Kingdom. One of the most sparsely populated territories in the world, it is estimated about half a million people live here. This is why the issue is so important - over five hundred thousand people have been denied their homeland and basic human rights for nigh forty years. Forced to live in refugee camps in remote regions of the Sahara desert, their situation is dire without significant international intervention.

IN THE LATE 19TH CENTURY, Western Sahara was a Spanish colony inhabited mainly by nomadic tribes, known as the Saharawi people. It remained a Spanish possession until 1975, when

Spain agreed to relinquish its claim. The International Court of Justice concluded that Western Sahara should not belong to either Morocco or Mauritania, and issued a verdict confirming the legal right of the Saharawi people to self-determination. This prompted Morocco and Mauritania to invade. With the use of troops and napalm, the Saharawi people were forced from their homeland, fleeing to the Algerian desert. The Moroccan king ordered the Green March, where three hundred fifty thousand Moroccan civilians crossed the border into Western Sahara to settle the territory for Morocco. Spain unilaterally withdrew from its former colony, and signed a secret deal splitting the region between Morocco and Mauritania.

A FEW MONTHS LATER, in early 1976, the Polisario Front declared the Saharawi Arab Democratic Republic (SADR). Polisario was founded a few years earlier with the goal of independence for

Western Sahara, to be accomplished by militarily ending Spanish rule.

Following Spain's withdrawal and the Moroccan and Mauritanian invasion, Polisario quickly turned their attention from fighting Spain to fighting the annexation. In 1979, Mauritania withdrew from Western Sahara due to continuous guerrilla warfare from Polisario. Even having the French air force fighting on their side had not stopped the bombing of their capital and crucial economic targets. Mauritania relinquished its claims, recognized Saharawi rights to Western Sahara, and later went on to recognize SADR.

MOROCCO IMMEDIATELY extended its control to include the rest of Western Sahara. However, Polisario was such a persistent threat, Morocco spent six years building a two thousand seven hundred kilometer long sand wall through the desert. The wall consists of sand and stone walls about 3 meters high, with radar, bunkers, fences, and landmines throughout. It is the longest continuous minefield in the world. Military bases, artillery posts, and airfields are spread out in the area behind the wall, to provide rapid support should it be needed. Staffed by an army roughly the same size as the entire Saharawi population, it protects all the economically profitable parts of Western Sahara. Construction of this wall brought the war to a stalemate, with neither side able to achieve notable gains.

IN 1991, A CEASEFIRE was agreed between Morocco and Polisario on the promise of a referendum on independence the following year. However, the referendum never took place due to a disagreement on who would be allowed to vote. Subsequent high-level talks and plans in 1999, 2000, 2003, and 2007 have all failed to reach an agreement between the two sides, and Morocco now refuses to allow a vote that includes an independent Western

Sahara as one of its possible outcomes.

AS SUCH, THE SITUATION has not seen significant change since 1991. Polisario intermittently threatens to resume fighting, as they view Morocco's refusal to hold a referendum as a breach of the ceasefire terms. However, since Algeria houses the refugee camps and is Polisario's main source of funding, it is unlikely Polisario will resume fighting without their blessing.

THE WELL-DOCUMENTED human rights violations and resource theft Morocco is inflicting on Western Sahara has prompted many organizations around the world to come to their aid. One such organization is the Norwegian Support Committee for Western Sahara (NSCWS). Their goal, like many others, is for the Saharawi people to achieve their right to self-determination, and participate in a referendum about the future of their country. To date, they have convinced several high-profile companies to cease cooperating with the Moroccan government in plundering Western Sahara's rich natural resources. Western Sahara boasts the world's largest phosphate deposits, arguably the richest fishing grounds in Africa, and the potential for considerable oil and gas reserves off the coast. This is why Morocco is so interested in the region - it is enormously profitable to their economy.

THE NSCWS is led by Director Erik Hagen, who had much to say about Western Sahara and his organization's success. About getting companies to divest from the region, he said "it's all about getting the company to see that doing unethical things will cost more". By putting pressure on companies and their investors, they have convinced Norway's TGS-Nopec and Yara, the Netherlands's Fugro, Denmark's Thor Offshore, the UK's Wessex Exploration, France's Total, and America's Kerr-McGee to leave Western Sahara.

Current Situation

-Ceasefire still holds, but referendum hasn't yet taken place.

-165,000 refugees living in refugee camps in Algeria, in the middle of the Sahara desert.

-Over 500 Saharawi's have disappeared while in Moroccan custody.

-Morocco created a 2,700 km long sand berm, 3m high, to keep out Polisario.

IN ADDITION to taking issue with companies complicit in supporting the illegal Moroccan occupation, Hagen found the other biggest problem in the Western Sahara conundrum to be the United Nations. The crux of the stalemate seems to be coming from the UN security council. As Hagen pointed out, "the main states of the security council are not the main proponents of world peace, so as long as that is the case it's hard to see a solution to the conflict".

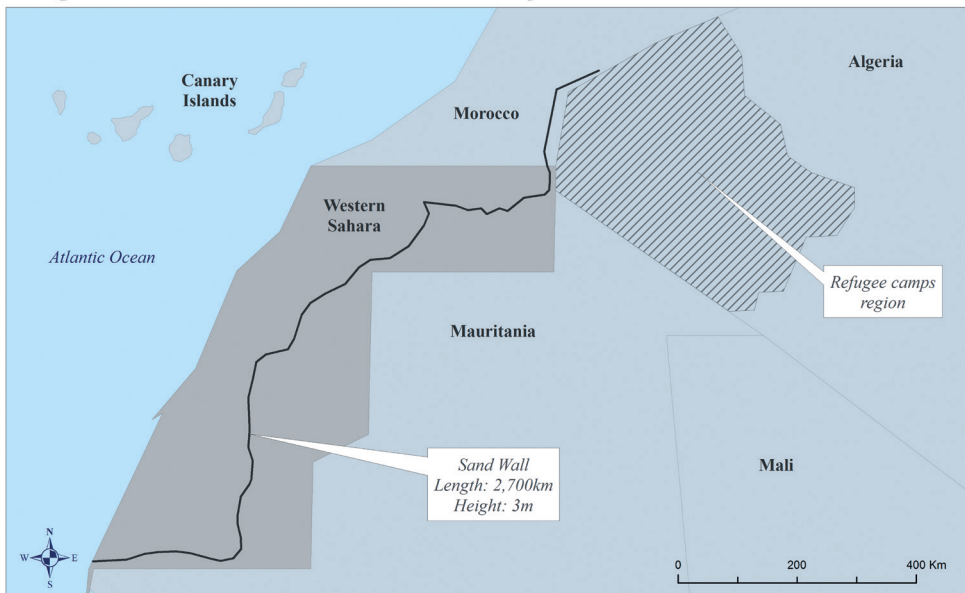
SPECIFICALLY, THE FRENCH are a particular cause of fury for Western Saharans. Due to close personal ties between the French political elite and the Moroccan political elite, "the French government is doing all they can to support the Moroccan government", notes Hagen. And because of France's permanent position on the security council, they use the threat of their veto so "when the resolutions are adopted, it's already been diluted to absurdity". The situation got so appalling, "in 2010 it was the Chinese UN

representative who asked the French 'why are you so against human rights?' As a result, Hagen thinks that "as long as the security council is put together the way it is, it's hard to see that peace will ever be achieved".

IN THE MEANTIME, it appears the twenty four year-old ceasefire will continue. Even though "the frustration in the camps is fairly high, their hands are tied because they're based in Algeria, and Algeria will not go to war with Morocco", says Hagen. "There is a strong sense of Saharawi nationalism, and those feelings are not going away". It appears that with oil and chemical companies so heavily invested in the region, France refusing to allow the United Nations to make progress on the issue, Morocco violating human rights for economic profit, and the lack of voice granted to the Saharawi people, no progress has been or will be made. With all sides of the conflict being so heavily invested, it appears for the time being, the stalemate is here to stay. ●

By: Nicholas Kaminski

Region Western Sahara today



Map Layout: Kia Carolina, 2015. Map Data: KEG (LU), 2015

When Empress Wu



Meets China's Media Watchdog

While Frank Underwood become the focus on the TV screen in the west, Empress Wu, the only female emperor of China, has left Chinese social media abuzz. It is all because of a recent popular TV drama “The Empress of China”.

In China's more than four millennia's history, Empress Wu is the only female emperor, who ruled China in her own right, from 690 to 705. Empress Wu is a legendary historical character in

Chinese history and her story has been made into several films and TV dramas. “The Empress of China” is one of these period dramas based on Empress Wu's life. Wu was one of the concubines of Emperor Taizong. After his death, she married Emperor Gaozong, the ninth son and successor of Emperor Taizong, officially becoming the first lady of the country. Wu assisted Emperor Gaozong to rule China and until his debilitating stroke, Wu took over the power and ruled as effective sovereign for 15 years.



Chinese authorities banned the TV drama "Empress Wu", arguing that the cleavages of the actresses were excessively provocative for viewers.

SINCE IT WAS aired on TV, the highlights of featuring A-lister Fan Bingbing as Empress Wu and produced at the extraordinary cost of nearly \$50 million have captured an increasing attention from the public to this period drama. In the meantime, China's media watchdog, the State Administration of Radio, Film and Television (SARFT) is also paying its attention to this popular drama. One week later, SARFT decided to take off the drama for re-edited because it was showing too much cleavage. When it reappeared on TV, many full-length and mid-length shots had been closely cropped to become headshots, eliminating the cleavage-revealing dresses that were the fashion of Wu's era.

APPARENTLY, CHINA'S CURRENT watchdog does not appreciate or identify with the fashion in 7th century. The authority are concerned that the over-exposing costumes in the drama are inappropriate and will have a negative influence on the society. However, another voice from the critics and commentators argues that the dresses in this drama are not inaccurate; they just give a realistic reflection to the aesthetics during the Tang era. "All the paintings from Tang Dynasty show that Chinese ladies from that era showed a lot of cleavage," said by Raymond Zhou, a film critic and pop culture commentator for the state-run China Daily newspaper. "Actually, much more than in the [TV] costume drama."

Additional voices are growing from the general public. The re-edited version, soon after it reappeared on TV screen, provoked heated online debates about if the SARFT is absurdly over-protective and what are the core values in current Chinese TV dramas and films. Some viewers express their strong discontent on the Internet that the trims of breasts left other body parts below the chin on the cutting room floor, and which made the action more difficult to follow. They complained that the regulations imposed on TV dramas are getting much stricter, almost harsh. Dissenters accused SARFT of being overly conservative, that even the government of one century ago had a more tolerant attitude toward such revealing dress. While, some percentage of viewers, particularly the middle-aged female viewers, support such added scrutiny. They wrote on Internet saying “Such shows that aim to attract people’s attention by exposure should be banned...” These viewers are holding that “Pure sensual entertainment does not equate to spiritual elation.” And they agree with the censors that “our artistic works, films and TV dramas should all promote China’s core values and pass on positive energy and good and true ideas.”

BUT FOR A larger number of viewers, they are more concerned that current TV censorship is too general and vague. They neither agree with the current strict censorship nor the values passed on by the current TV dramas. As unnamed Internet users wrote on Sina Weibo, one of the most popular sites in China, that, “On the one hand, the SARFT restricts too much, but on the other, TV dramas nowadays have been going too far...”; “It is necessary to introduce a detailed and transparent rating system for television shows...” ; “Those controversial shows may be aired on certain designated channels and during later time slots.”

CHINA HAS ONE of the largest TV audience in the world. Its television audience has risen to 1.2 billion. However, currently China does not operate any rating system. That means all content in shows, dramas or movies are supposed to be suitable for all age groups and categories of society. The vague rules about what can be shown on TV, in movies and shows confuse the public and encourage filmmakers to err on the side of caution. In some Western countries, and even in its neighboring South Korea, censorship in the form of a rating system is much more transparent and detailed. For example, in South Korea, movies and dramas are rated with a five-level rating system to balance creativity and the protection of minors; and in UK, film or TV labeled for general viewing is not allowed to show a woman’s breasts, human sex organs or pubic hair. In contrast, provisions and regulations for film and TV content in China are too vague and too general to enforce. With the growing of China’s TV industry, it is time to introduce a rating system for TV dramas. The lack of any rating system was the reason why the drama had been censored. For a detailed and transparent rating system, the authority shall take questions from the general public and give more say in censorship decisions to the production companies, TV networks to balance the rating system.

EMPRESS WU, such a powerful woman, the only female emperor in China, when meeting with China’s Media Watchdog, has to change the way she has been dressing for more than one thousand years. It would be the conflicts between the current aesthetic standard and the ancient. Or it would also be a consequence of the vague and imperfect censorship system. But as the saying goes, “Beauty is dangerous, wisdom must be earned.” To defeat the enemies, it is always better to use intelligence instead of breasts. ●

Empress of China

- The TV drama is among the most expensive ones in Chinese history.

- Fan Bingbing, who plays the empress, topped Forbes China celebrity list 2013 and 2014.

- The Tang dynasty is generally known as a high-point in Chinese civilization and the golden age of cosmopolitan culture.

- It is considered the greatest age of Chinese poetry.



ATT UPPFINNA EN EUROPÉ

Text: Emelie Lindström Illustrationer: Tilda Svirins

Europa genomgår en identitetskris. EU:s bristande solidaritet slår nu tillbaka mot samarbetet med full kraft. EU har misslyckats med att skapa en europeisk identitet, vilket i kombination med utebliven solidaritet och ekonomiska klyftor bidragit till dagens högerextremism och inhuman flyktningpolitik.

En ensam vit kvinna, iförd Kill Bill-dräkt har lämnats åt sitt öde i en ekande tom och fuktig lagerlokal. Trots att en förnimmelse av överhängande fara härskar i lokalen, skrider hon självsäkert och rakryggad fram genom den till synes övergivna salen. Plötsligt sprids ett kraftfullt, vibrerande och traditionellt "gong-ljud" genom det tomma utrymmet samtidigt som en kinesisk krigare uppenbarar sig på en av lokalens takpelare. Denne kastar sig djärvt ner från taket och utför någon slags aggressiv kung fu-rörelse. I andra änden av lokalen närmar sig en svävande indisk man med imponerande svärdkunskaper. Och som om detta inte vore nog slås dörren

till lokalen in med full kraft, varvid en brasiliansk krigare i bar överkropp närmar sig genom diverse avancerade volter.

KILL BILL-KVINNAN ÄR nu omringad, men till skillnad från de skenbart barbariska angripare hon ställs inför, behåller hon lugnet, ty hon är inte ensam. Det är nämligen inte Uma Thurman som snirklat sig ner i den trånga gula dräkten, utan självaste Europa, eller närmare bestämt den europeiska unionen. Med ett djupt andetag lyckas





hon, EU, utan någon synbar insats dubblera sig till tolv stycken supercoola Kill Bill-kvinnor, vilka tillsammans sluter upp sig i en cirkel kring inkräktarna. Angriparna har då inget annat val än att lugnt och sansat lägga ner sina vapen, och med ens förvandlas den gula Kill Bill-utstyrseln till tolv europeiska stjärnor, vilka tillsammans formar sig till den officiella EU-flaggan.

ÅR 2012 VALDE Kommissionen att lansera den ovan skildrade reklamfilmen "Growing together" i syfte att marknadsföra EU. Klippets ursprungliga intention var att piska upp den yngre generationens intresse för det europeiska samarbetet samt att uppmana till en ökad utvidgning av EU. En viktig del i kommissionens arbete består i att knyta unionen närmre dess medborgare genom att utveckla och definiera den europeiska identiteten. Klippet avslutas med uppmaningen "The more we are, the stronger we are", och således förmedlas en direkt "anledning" varför samarbetet bör utvidgas, nämligen som skydd mot "den andra". En väl beprövad metod i den europeiska historien för skapandet av identitet.

I BOKEN *Europa idé, identitet verklighet* menar sociologen Gerard Delanty att varje tidsålder skapat föreställningen om Europa som en spegelbild av sin egen identitet. En identitet som skapats i kontrast till "den andre", det vill säga det icke-europeiska. Behovet av den andre har varit ett återkommande inslag under den europeiska historiens gång och har bidragit till föreställningen om Europa. Den europeiska diskursen utgår och kretsar i stor utsträckning kring denna historiska dikotomi, den mentala gränsdragningen mellan "vi och dem". En gränsdragning, vilken även kännetecknar den inomeuropeiska miljön: Exempelvis har den tidigare diskursen om väst och Östeuropa successivt kommit att ersättas av diskursen kring Nord- och Sydeuropa.

DET PROPAGERANDE KLIPPET "Growing together" är ett utmärkt exempel på den europeiska diskursens konsekvenser. I detta försök att måla upp och iscensätta en hotbild försöker EU frambringa och motivera en rädsla just för "den andre". EU utnyttjar därmed föreställningen om Europa i ett splittrande och exkluderande syfte. Videon förmedlar budskapet att Europas säkerhet kan garanteras om EU:s länder förblir exklusivt sammansvurna, samtidigt som samarbetet ytterligare expanderar.



"Science - it's a girl thing"

Growing together är inte den enda EU-kampanjvideon som har kritiserats. Här har vi ännu ett exempel: 2012 lanserade kommissionen videon Science: it's a girl thing!, i vilken ett gäng "moderiktiga" tjejer fnittrande tramsar runt i en laboratoriesal, och som drabbades av så mycket ifrågasättanden att kommissionen kände sig tvungna att förklara att filmen INTE var en ironisk drift med stereotypa könsroller. "Commission doesn't really do irony", som de uttryckte det.

DET EUROPEISKA SAMARBETET bör representera gränsöverskridande solidaritet. Att bygga en föreställning om Europa inom ramarna för den europeiska fästningens logik är beklämmande, givet att fler människor i dag befinner sig på flykt än vad som har varit fallet sedan andra världskriget. Intensiteten förutspås dessutom förbli oförändrad de kommande åren, och att låta idén om Europa som bygger på uteslutning snarare än på sammanhållning styra kommer skada hela det europeiska samarbetet. Att visa solidaritet med människor på flykt borde vara en självklarhet, men i stället låter EU människor - på jakt efter trygghet, om hopp om ett anständigt liv - drunkna i medelhavet. Människor är beredda att riskera sina liv för att få bli en del av den europeiska fästningen, så varför detta europeiska motstånd?

“**DET EUROPEISKA SAMARBETET HAR MISSLYCKATS MED ATT SKAPA EN KÄNSLA AV GEMENSKAP**”

VÅRA POLITISKA REPRESENTANTER har misslyckats med att visa på integrationens fördelar. Fredrik Reinfeldt poängterade exempelvis under Almedalsveckan 2014 vikten av att ”öppna våra hjärtan”, en uppfattning han delar med majoriteten av svenskarna, åtminstone enligt statistiken. Problemet är dessvärre att det dominerande sättet att diskutera integration skapar en diskurs kring ”upppoffring”. Detta är vilseledande eftersom det ger en felaktig bild av verkligheten. Det finns nämligen inga ekonomiska ursäkter

för att begränsa integrationen, endast protektionistiska sådana. Europa har en åldrande befolkning och behöver således invandring för att överleva. Förutom ekonomiska fördelar, såsom arbetskraft, innebär integrationen dessutom ett kulturellt utbyte, vilket kan berika och göra Europa mer nyckande och dynamiskt. Den europeiska integrationsdiskursen måste följaktligen grundligt modifieras för att överhuvudtaget ge människor en chans att skapa sig en mer rättvis bild av verkligheten.

DEN HÖGEREXTREMISM SOM vi för närvarande bevittnar i stora delar av Europa kan härledas från det faktum att det europeiska samarbetet helt enkelt har misslyckats med att skapa en grundläggande känsla av gemenskap, annat än det strikt ekonomiska. Handeln mellan medlemsländerna, samarbetets kärna, har angripits i och med den ekonomiska krisen och bedrivs inte längre under samma förutsättningar. Krisen har bidragit till skapandet av första- och andraklassländer, eftersom klyftan mellan europeiska länder ökat markant. De sociala klyftorna leder till urholkad tillit, vilken tar sig uttryck i en intensifierad protektionism gentemot andra EU-länder samt invandring. För att citera Shakespeare: ”När fattigdomen kliver in genom dörren, flyger kärleken ut genom fönstret.”

REAKTIONEN PÅ SAMARBETETS sociala spricka tar sig uttryck på följande två sätt: Länder som Grekland och Spanien (andra klassens länder) upplever sig orättvist behandlade, vilket bidrar med att fler och fler tar spjärn mot samarbetet. Länder som Storbritannien och Sverige (första klassens länder) visar motstånd eftersom de känner att de ”bidrar” med mer än vad de får tillbaka à la resonemanget ”Varför ska vi betala priset för att Grekland misskött sin ekonomi?”. Greklands befolkning: ”Varför ska EU sanktionera oss, när det är bankerna som agerat korrupta?”.

RESONEMANGET OVAN ÄR ett bevis på att fattigdomen återigen har fördrivit kärleken ur samarbetet, och med det svalnar viljan till kollaboration. I spillrorna av det nyväckta motståndet står en europeiska medborgaren med förvriden identitet, en känsla av upplösning. Protektionismen tar vid i rädslan att en fördjupad integration ska utmana den traditionellt nationella identiteten, eftersom det ännu inte finns en etablerad europeisk identitet. Ekonomiska krisen resulterar även i att en annan viktig källa för identitet hotats, nämligen "arbetet". Den kapitalistiska diskursen skapar nämligen en identitet där arbetet är nära förknippat med den enskilda människans existensberättigande.

EU GRUNDAR SIG inte i solidaritet, vilket försvagar samarbetet och gör det skört för yttre påfrestningar. På grund av att de europeiska medborgarnas identiteter är starkt förknippade med arbete och nation, skapas en skev bild för hur vi ser på integrationen mellan europeiska länder samt icke-europeiska länder. Den nuvarande kapitalistiska diskursen "Jag arbetar, alltså finns jag", skapar vid ekonomisk kris en starkare reaktion mot "den andre" i en protek-

tionistisk rädsla för konkurrens och bristande tillgång till arbete.

EUROPA GENOMGÅR EN identitetskris, och kommer fortsättningsvis att ställas inför utmaningar om inte samarbetet blir mer solidariskt orienterat. EU måste i sina försök att skapa europeisk identitet, sträva efter att skapa en identitet som inte bygger på uteslutning och föreställningen om "den andre". Relationen med medborgarna ska inte förbättras inom ramen för den europeiska fästningen. Snarare bör EU arbeta med att skapa en inkluderande vision inför framtiden, en vision som medborgarna är beredda att ställa sig bakom. Europa behöver en ny berättelse. ●

Övre: Demonstration mot att ta bort den europeiska flaggan och nationalsången från konstitutionen.

Nedre: Tjuren är en symbol för Europa och finns som staty utanför flera europeiska institutioner.



Photos: Rock Cohen



What We Talk About When We Talk About ECONOMIC GROWTH


How can it be that even though we have broad knowledge about horrible labour-circumstances of sweatshops, we still buy clothes for absurd low prices? Why do we need to get the latest electronics every two years, while we know the scarce metals needed for the production are only reachable by practising dangerous mining activities? Said differently: how can it be that we behave so immoral when it comes to consumption?

All these questions can be traced back to the undisputed belief of the importance of economic growth in the Western society. Just have a look at any mainstream newspaper and try to find an article in which the positive connotation of economic growth is questioned. Economic growth certainly creates by-products as well. Namely, social inequity and ecological crisis are present, even if we would rather avoid talking about these.

BACK IN THE 18TH CENTURY new radical ideas evolved. It was the Age of Reason and intellect, better known as the Enlightenment. This era changed the perceptions of society and its influences can still be found in our worldview today. In the aftermath of the French Revolution the modern Nation-State came into being and resonated the ideas of liberty, equality and fraternity. It was a time of prosperity and progress. Slavery came to an end and the Industrial Revolution drastically changed the forms of society. All of these modifi-

cations and the access to new technologies it provided, opened up a space for a new philosophical and economic paradigm: utilitarianism and economic liberalism. Utilitarianism is led by the Principle of Utility. It strives toward a situation of the greatest happiness for all, and the assumption of economic liberalism is that striving for material self-interest will maximise the wealth of society as a whole. The combination of these new ideas altered the way of thinking among society and a new moral ethic came into being.

ACTUALLY, AT FIRST SIGHT the Principle of Utility sounds really appealing. Nonetheless some problems are found within the fact that the theory focusses only on consequences and not the process to reach happiness. Karl Marx is one of the most famous critics of utilitarianism and economic liberalism. According to Marx these philosophies misses upon the fact that it doesn't acknowledge that human nature and culture are dynamic. Meaning that there is not just one single best outcome for all humans. Therefore to understand societal processes, he emphasises the importance of having knowledge of the historical and social dimension as well. This knowledge is lacking within the theory of economic liberalism. From this viewpoint the economic organisation is understood as the basis from which other social phenomena evolve (like social relations, morality and ideology), rather than acknowledging the interaction between the different realms. Through this understanding, the social obligations of the individual to society are disconnected from and subjected to the economic sphere. This can lead to inequality and suppress-



sion of for example human labour. In like manner, nature is conceived separately from culture and subjected to the economy. From an utilitarian perspective nature only holds extrinsic value, meaning that nature is just seen as a tool to serve humanity. Utilitarians don't talk about nature, but rather about natural resources. These resources are approached as commodities and valued by the amount of money they can deliver. However, reality shows actually something else. Namely the ongoing interaction between the economic, environmental and cultural sphere.

BY UNDERSTANDING THE INTERACTION between the different spheres, one might find some problems that result out of the subjection of the cultural and environmental dimension to the economy. In the logic of economic liberalism, the ecological and socio-cultural dimension are both needed to accumulate capital wealth. Namely, the transfer of factories to low-income countries will give more capital surplus, than having high labour and production costs in the wealthy countries. Likewise, depletion of natural resources is ongoing to produce the goods. By making economy superior to the natural and socio-cultural dimension and thereby the focus on the economic outcome and not the processes behind it, the dependency of the west on cheap labour and natural resources to produce its commodities for profitable prices is mystified. Following this argumentation, it is the utilitarian ideology applied within a liberal economic framework that has led to the ecological crisis and large inequalities in wealth among the world.

IMAGINE YOU JUST had a summer job where you worked really hard. You get your money and now you are standing in a shop to buy a new iPhone. Different models are available, you can choose for an older version that is a bit cheaper or the latest model

with new fancy possibilities what you never heard of before, let alone, needed before. Let's go to the other side of the world, China. Tian Yu, 17 years old decided to move from the countryside to the city to earn money. She started to work for the Chinese company Foxconn where the iPhone is produced. After a month she attempted suicide. Besides her, there are 1.2 million other people working in the factories spread over China and Africa. Together they produce 137.000 iPhones a day. A workweek exists out of six days, starting at 6.30 AM. Lunches and breaks are unpaid and therefore skipped by most and the work should be done in silence. Long days and short nights makes the labourers sleepy, but sleep is not accepted during working hours, instead, snoozers therefore punished. Back to your reality. You are still in the shop, deciding which iPhone you want to buy from the money you worked so hard for. Or, would you leave the shop without a phone? Your old phone is actually still working.

ALTHOUGH WE ARE in many cases aware of the harsh reality behind our products, we do not change our habits. There are new gadgets on the market everyday, the supermarkets are still full of 'unfair' products and cheap clothes are still widely available. This is precisely because we live in a commodity culture in which economic growth is the norm and where we buy our products with our money for which we have fairly worked. It is this mentality and the alienation of the ecological and socio-cultural dimension from the economic that justifies our negation of the underlying process, which actually is needed to sustain our Western lifestyles. Although, we might question how long the ecological and socio-cultural dimension will be able to serve this lifestyle. ●

By: Petra van der Kooij

SMARTPHONE ARIRANG

- *the New Craze in North Korea?*

Since 2013, North Korea started producing Smartphone autonomously. How is this production going to affect North Korean society? Can this finally bring about democratization finally in North Korea? Will it be used as a tool for strengthening the status quo?

Facts

- The number of subscribers of mobile phone has increased from 1,694 in 2008 to 2 million in 2013.

- The mobile network has been expanded to cover 94 % of the land of the whole country.

- North Korea recently started investing to technology industries including the production of a smartphone and a tablet computer.

When I was a college student in South Korea, I always looked forward to taking my course 'Forced migration and refugee issues in global politics'. My professor, an ultimate networker in this field, invited speakers in a variety of sectors to my class every week. One day, I was waiting for today's speaker as usual. One girl at my age stepped into the class. She introduced herself as an American. However, she was a North Korean who defected to South Korea. This was the first day that I met a North Korean in my entire life. During the class, she delivered her vivid story on how she managed to arrive in South Korea via China and Burma crossing the waters and then, migrate to the states. After her speech, however, it only remained in my mind that every North Korean watch South Korean dramas on the Internet directly after they are aired in South Korea, which was quite shocking to me. Though North Korea is one of the most isolated societies, they have been already connected to the rest through the Internet. There is existing

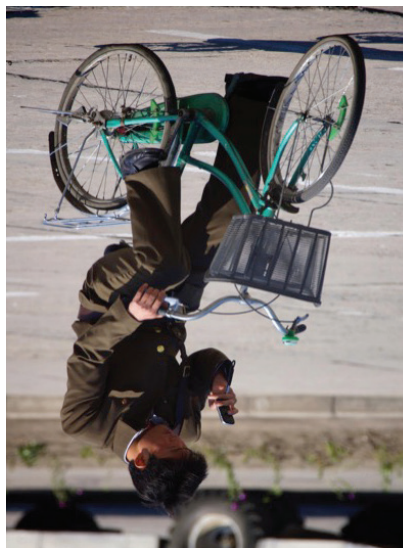
another cyberspace apart from the reality of North Korea. Indeed, the North Korea has been gradually changing. Since August 2013, North Korea started producing Smartphone autonomously. How is the production of smartphone going to give an impact on North Korean society?

THE NAME OF the smartphone is Arirang, which is named after a traditional Korean folk song. As a matter of fact, the sole fact that North Korea started producing the smartphone does not make any big difference to North Korean citizens. First of all, its price reaching approximately four hundred USD seems unreasonable for people living with an average monthly salary 3 USD. In addition, the government of NK has so far controlled the flow of all the information shared on mobile phone and tried to censor them thoroughly. Many interviews conducted with North Korean defectors in South Korea shows that North Koreans try to use the mobile phone in a very limited way through self-censorship in order to prevent problems resulting from the censorship of government.

AT PRESENT, NOTHING is known about how many people are using a smartphone. It can be assumed that users of the smartphone would be highly concentrated on a few elites group. However, it is clear that the spread of mobile phone in North Korea is growing rapidly. North Korea has used its

own communication networks called Koryo-Link, which has been exclusively supported by the Egyptian company 'Orascom' from the beginning of establishing a communications network in Pyongyang, the capital city of North Korea. According to Koryo-Link, the number of subscribers of mobile phone have increased from one thousand six hundred and ninety-four in 2008 to 2 million in 2013. In addition, the mobile network has been expanded to cover 94 % of the land of the whole country. Considering the social and economic environment surrounding the North Korean society, these changes are worthy of attention.

IN 2006, ONE netizen suggested others to have an unexpected gathering at a Pyongyang stadium through the internet, and consequently almost 300 people gathered, which made the government of North Korea prohibit the use of internet at home and allow it only at the public agency. This small happening reflected not only the power of media in terms of its mobilization of people but also people's deep interest in a cybersphere, which is linked to a public sphere in the end. This also showed that the government of North Korea considered it as a threat to maintaining its regime.



Photos: Douglas McCain

FINALLY, THE ACT of using mobile phone can be explained as people's desire to be connected with others, including sharing daily living information on weather conditions or the price of commodity and making social networks with their family and friends. Therefore, the increased prevalence rate of mobile phone is likely to contribute to changing the society in North Korea in any way. Can this change bring about democratization finally in North Korea? Or will it be used as a tool for strengthening the status quo?

ALTHOUGH THE LATTER is still dominant, we should be aware of the change taking place in North Korea. The Arab Spring happened in a few Middle East and North African countries in 2012 had people fight for a long-lasting dictatorial regime. In the meantime, the use of social media through smartphones played a very unprecedented and unique roles in organizing protests and making them visible. Although the Arab Spring did not provide people with entire freedom and civil rights, the fact it contributed to making a change does never change. North Korea is still lonely. Loneliness always seeks for attention. We will be keeping an eye on how this desire is going to be changed in adaptation to the new technology, which might lead to communication with the rest of the world. . ●

By: Hyeonsoo Jeon

Foto: Julius Gellberg



The Untold Story of **Hildur Sandberg**

Hildur Sandberg was born in Ängelholm on the 18th of February 1881. She was the second youngest, and had three brothers. As a child Hildur loved to read and write, and it soon became clear that she was a gifted child. Sadly for the Sandberg family, the mother Emma got very sick from a fever and passed away on Christmas Eve. Hildur was 15 years old at the time. As the only female left, it would have been expected of Hildur to stay at home and take her mother's place as the woman of the household. But her father could see her thirst for knowledge, and let her continue her studies in Lund.

Sweden passed the law that allowed girls to get a high school exam, which then again allowed them to enter University studies in 1870. Although, Sweden was quite early on passing this law, it was only a few girls who actually went to University, because it was still expected of them to stay at home or to marry. During her

High School years, Sandberg took an interest in foreign relations. She joined an organisation called "Kamraten" or "The Friend" where she had a pen pal and exchanged letters with among others a Finnish student. In 1898 she graduated as a (privatist) with the best grades of her class. She wore her "studentmössa" proudly.

WHEN SHE ENROLLED at the University of Lund in 1899, there were 500 students. Only 11 of these were women, and she only had one female classmate at the Faculty of Medicine. Because of a scholarship given out by an old widow named Lady W. Hierta, she was also able to afford it.

HILDUR GOT ACTIVE in the student life in Lund. She attended DYG ("De Yngre Gubbarna" or "The Older Younger Men")- meetings. DYG was a politically independent, radical and valued the freedom of speech. The meetings were an arena for discussion. She soon found her place in the group and was voted in as one of the board members. DYG discussed foreign affairs as well as domestic matters. At the time, the issue

of whether or not the Swedish-Norwegian union should dissolve or be kept by force was a big issue. Both Sandberg and DYG acknowledged Norway's right to become an independent country.

DYG ALSO SUPPORTED the labour movement, addressing the rights of the working-class people. Sandberg especially took an interest in the working class women and their health. The Victorian Woman, should at the time, not have awareness of her own body and sexuality. A woman should be prudish. Sandberg was shocked to discover the lack of knowledge on this area. A wife of a professor, who was pregnant for the first time, asked if the child was supposed to come out from the navel. Using her background in medicine, Sandberg started giving lectures in Malmö, where she taught about hygiene, birth and the female body. She also encouraged the women to get fewer children as she saw how this took a toll on the women.

SANDBERG WAS ESPECIALLY passionate about the Women's Rights Movement, and in 1900 she was one of the people who formed the first "Association for Female Students" in Lund. The organisations number one claim was for women to have the same rights as men. On the initiative of Sandberg, the feminist Ellen Key was invited to speak, she gave two lectures in "Lilla Hörsalen" in the AF- building.

DURING THE WINTER of 1903, Hildur starts up a relationship with a young man called Adolf Björk. He was a handsome, talented, fellow medical student from Malmö. Björk was also a member of DYG, and shared the same political ideas as Sandberg. Their love blossomed, and after a few months they more or less lived together. This was the last drop that made the cup run over for the old woman behind her scholarship.

LADY W. HIERTA who was kind, but still very strict and conservative, did not like Sandberg's membership at DYG, they were what she thought a blasphemous organisation, luring students from the Christian faith. She did not like Sandberg's initiative to teach women about sexuality, this was not something a young girl should speak so freely about. And now that she had entered a domestic relationship with a man, Lady W. Hierta could not stand her the "promiscuous" behaviour and cut off all financial support.

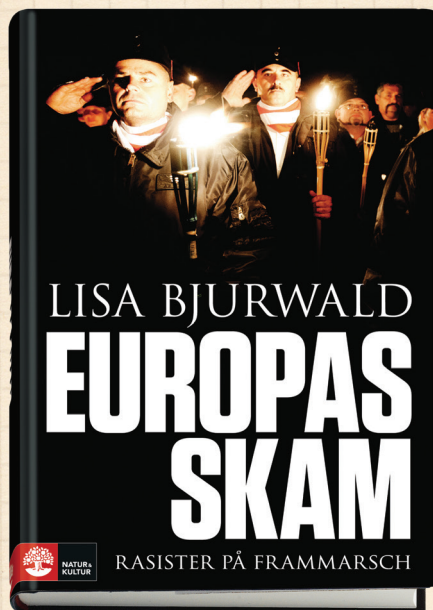
DURING THE FALL of 1904, Sandberg's life slowly went downwards. She was forced to beg her brothers for money. She could not afford all the books and according to the attendance lists at the University, she did no longer show up for many of the lectures.

22ND OF DECEMBER 1904, a young girl is found unconscious in a student apartment building in Grönegatan. It was Hildur Sandberg and her life was not to be saved. She died at the age of 23. The body was sent in for an autopsy, but the cause of death was never determined. Did she take her own life? Some even wondered if she had been murdered. More than two months later she was buried at "Norra Kyrkogården", about 2000 people had showed up to pay their last respects. People from all walks of life showed up. A headstone was raised at the expense of DYG.

ONE CAN'T HELP but wonder what if she had lived? This was a strong, beloved woman who accomplished more in 23 years than most people do in a whole lifetime. She connected with the working class in a way that most academics did not, and was known for her big heart. Sadly, she could never see the day when Swedish women got to vote, but her initiative in Lund is of great importance. ●

By: Kari Bjørgaas Helle

recension:



EUROPAS SKAM - RASISTER PÅ FRAMMARSCH

Utgiven: Maj 2012

Om författaren: Lisa Bjurwald är redaktör på Medievärlden, och har skrivit för bland annat Dagens Nyheter, Svenska Dagbladet och Expo.

Tidigare verk: Lisa Bjurwald utkom 2013 med reportageboken Skrivbordskrigarna, i vilken hon undersöker hur högerextrema krafter utnyttjar nätet i propagandaspridande syften.

Högerextremismen och dess destruktiva inverkan på samhället har under den senaste tiden varit ett hett ämne för diskussion. I Europas skam - rasister på frammarsch skildrar Lisa Bjurwald sina egna möten med människor i Europa som driver eller har fallit offer för rasistiska organisationer.

I Europas skam - rasister på frammarsch får vi följa med författaren och journalisten Lisa Bjurwald på en händelserik resa genom Europa. Den inleds med en kort historia om de mest framträdande grenarna inom högerextremismen, det vill säga islamofobi, antisemitism och antiziganism, vilka får en framträdande roll senare i boken, men själva resan tar sin början i Ungern och avslutas i Skandinavien. På vägen kan vi bland annat läsa om hur Bjurwalds tolk attackeras av en nationalistisk äldre herre på grund av hans "icke-ungerska" utseende. Vi stiftar även bekantskap med högerextrema partier som Jobbik och Lega Nord, representerade av såväl deras ledare som anhängare. Även länder som generellt anses vara mer progressiva, som Storbritannien och Tyskland, granskas för deras politiska partier men även för de mindre officiella organisationerna som till exempel uppvaknandet av den tyska nynazismen. Bjurwald nämner även specifika politiker. Hon drar exempelvis upp den nederländske politikern tillika islamofoben Geert Wilders framgångar i Europaparlamentet år 2009. Liknande omnämnanden av framgångsrika politiker på högerns yttersta kant är ett återkommande tema genom hela boken.

EUROPAS SKAM GAVS ut år 2011, i kölvattnet av riksdagsvalet 2010 där Sverigedemokraterna blev invalda i riksdagen. Det är Bjurwalds andra bok efter hennes debut från 2009, *God dag kampsyser!* Kvinnorna i extremhögern, som hon skrev tillsammans med kollegan Maria Blomquist. Bilden som Europas skam målar upp vittnar om en skrämmande verklighet, i vilken allt fler rasistiska partier och organisationer får mer makt. Den visar ett Europa fyllt av rädsla, både för det som anses främmande och för de krafter som attackerar det främmande. Ett Europa där

människor ständigt vänder sig emot varandra och förskjuter skulden för sina problem på individer som de inte har fäst avseende vid att lära känna. Det är ingen uppmuntrande läsning.

“HOPPET GER SIG TILL KÄNNA I INTERVJUER MED FORSKARE OCH AKTIVISTER”

“OTHERING” ÄR ETT begrepp som ofta används vid analyser av hur människor och nationer stärker sin egen ställning och formar sin identitet. De distanserar sig helt enkelt från en folkgrupp och målar upp den som fienden. Att skapa en rädsla mot ett “dem” stärker samhörigheten för ett “vi”. Det har frekvent använts genom historien och argumenten idag skiljer sig inte märkvärt från då. Påståendet att romerna stjäl jobb från ungrarna för till exempel tankarna till Hitlers retorik i vilken judarna var de påstådda arbetstjuvarna. För optimisten finns det trots detta en strimma av hopp i denna bok, som annars hade kunnat bli till ren skrämselfpropaganda. Hoppet ger sig till känna i intervjuerna med forskare och aktivister, som i många fall visar en gnutta av förståelse för hur den problematiska situationen har uppstått. Deras blotta existens kan sägas representera ett motstånd, vilket snarare använder sig av diskussion och förnuft än våld i sin kamp mot diskriminering i samhället.

Författare Lisa Bjurwald reser genom Europa för att förstå den växande rasismen.

EUROPAS SKAM ÄR fängslande och Bjurwald visar prov på att hon klarar av att fånga en läsaress intresse, inte bara genom den synnerligen intressanta berättelsen utan även genom den välplanerade dispositionen och hennes målande språk. Som läsare får man känslan av att vara med under hela hennes resa igenom Europa. Den breda variationen av människor som är med och uttrycker sina åsikter gör att boken inkluderar flera perspektiv på situationen med integration och invandring. Som om detta inte skulle vara argument nog för att läsa boken så kan det högt aktuella temat göra det värt att ta sig tid till att få en inblick i denna skrämmande trend. ●

Text: Lisa Svensson

Foto: Mia Carlsson



B



LUCSUS

Lund University Centre for Sustainability Studies



LUCSUS är mötesplatsen för tvärvetenskaplig forskning och undervisning i miljö- och utvecklingsfrågor vid Lunds universitet.



www.lucsus.lu.se